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A CELTIC MISCELLANY

By D. F. ALLEN

This is not so much an article as a series of notes on Celtic coins, but some of them hang together. The common theme of most is the Coritani, about whose coins information grows apace, but the silver minim forms a subplot.

A. *A new prototype stater*

In my *Sylloge* volume on the Coritani¹ I recorded as no. 226A on p. 39 a variant of the prototype stater with horse to left which had a wheel instead of a rosette below the horse. The coin was then with Messrs. Spink and Sons and was, I thought, unique. But Mr. H. R. Mossop has obtained another from the same dies as the first, weight 87 grains (5.64 grams) which he has kindly allowed me to publish. Again unfortunately it lacks a find spot, but it could be that both were found together. (Pl. XVI, 1).

B. *A new South Ferriby type rarity*

Among the rarer of the South Ferriby types were staters which have a lozenge-shaped panel above the horse's back, containing pellets (*Sylloge* no. 245-8). Others have instead a square panel (*Sylloge* no. 35, 242-4). Another specimen of *Sylloge* no. 245 (a South Ferriby hoard coin) and probably from the same dies was found during 1964 in Ministry of Works excavations at Old Winteringham, Lincolnshire, only a few miles away and at the terminus of Ermine Street on the Humber. The coin weighs 67.7 grains (4.39 grams) and has a specific gravity of 8.6, which means that the gold content is minimal; nevertheless it does not seem to be the core of a plated forgery. It shows the left hand side of the reverse, invisible on the previous specimen. (Pl. XVI, 2).

C. *A reading confirmed*

On p. 28 of the *Sylloge* volume, I speculated about the full legend on the coin in the Yorkshire Museum illustrated as no. 379, but better known from the block on Plate XVII, 4 of Sir J. Evans' *Coins of the Ancient Britons*². I finally agreed with Evans that the most likely reading was IISVP ASV (i.e. Esup . . . Asu . . .). The coin weighs 83 grains (5.38 grams) (Pl. XVI, 3).

Although for more than 100 years the York specimen has remained unique, barring plated forgeries, recently no less than two more specimens have come to light. All three are from different dies. The first specimen, for which there is no find spot, was acquired in 1963 by the City Museum, Leeds. It weighs 80.6 grains (5.22 grams). It shows the ASV below the horse clearly (Pl. XVI, 4). The second specimen was found in 1963 at Cowden Beach, Yorkshire, and has been acquired by Mr. H. R. Mossop. It weighs 82 grains (5.31 grams). It has the distinction that for the first time it demonstrates beyond doubt that the upper legend read what it has been supposed to read. It also shows the very curious form of the horse's head. (Pl. XVI, 5). I publish these two coins by the kindness of Miss E. Pirie, Curator of

¹ D. F. Allen, *The Coins of the Coritani in the British Museum, Sylloge of Coins of the British*

Isles, 1963.

² Sir J. Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, 1864.

Coins at the City Museum, Leeds, and of Mr. Mossop. Since this was drafted, a coin found at Scunthorpe, described in Section F, has carried the story a stage further.

D. *A strange variant of an inscribed Stater*

Coritanian coins, as is well known, sometimes travelled. One, or rather the bronze core of a forgery of one, has now turned up during 1965 in the Roman camp of Claudian date at Waddon Hill, near Beaminster, Dorset, which is being excavated by Mr. Graham Webster. The coin is a variant of the normal Vep-Corf stater. On the obverse instead of the normal central bar to the design there is a diamond box with a pellet in the centre. On the reverse the horse is decomposed to a degree unusual even for Coritanian coins and faces right. For the head compare the previous coin. The legend above the horse is clear VE(lig.)I ; one could not say if the I , which is incomplete, should be read as a P . Below the horse one can imagine that the top bar of F is present, but this is uncertain. The weight is 57.8 grains (3.75 grams). (Pl. XVI, 6).

E. *Coins found at Thistleton, Rutland*

11 silver coins were found by Mr. E. Greenfield in the Ministry of Works excavations at Thistleton, Rutland, in 1963, (Pl. XVI, 7-17). These are all half-denomination silver coins of the Coritani of an average weight of 5.46 grains (or .35 grams). None are from dies previously recorded. They confirm the impression that this minute coinage was more extensive than might be deduced from the small number of coins hitherto recorded. The smallness of the denomination, compared with the size of the coins elsewhere, seems to imply that the Coritani were relatively poor and that silver was in short supply; but silver coins of very small size were probably not as rare in Celtic Britain as is generally supposed.

The general period of the coins is probably confirmed by another coin from the same excavations, a well-preserved bronze of Cunobelinus of the type of Mack 260, with a winged sphinx on one side and a priestly figure carrying a severed head on the other, (Pl. XVI, 19). The second quarter of the first century A.D. would probably cover the whole group.

The Coritanian silver coins vary in detail but conform to a general type. Nine of them have blank obverses and on the reverse a formalised horse to left or right, accompanied by a rosette or sun ornament (Pl. XVI, 7-15). One of those with the ornament in the form of a diamond box with a central pellet is new (Pl. XVI, 15, cf. 14). Two have traces of a wreath pattern on the obverse and a legend or probable legend on the reverse (Pl. XVI, 10-11). The first two or three of the coins listed show some sign of wear; the remainder seem completely fresh. The last is unfortunately chipped. A few show traces of bronze corrosion, due to the poor composition of the silver alloy.

It is clear that this class of coin corresponds broadly with the gold stater of 'South Ferriby' type. An example of the core of a plated forgery of one of them was also found at Thistleton in the excavation. (Pl. XVI, 18).

Of the two inscribed coins, one reads very clearly VE(lig.)P CO (Pl. XVI, 16), thus confirming finally the reading surmised from Mack¹ 464 and hitherto supported only by a poor specimen from Ancaster which I believed to have this reading. It thus certainly corresponds with the gold stater reading VEP CORF . The second inscribed coin has what looks like an inverted B below the horse, but in fact it is probably a reversed R . If it were the letter B ,

¹ R. P. Mack, *The Coinage of Ancient Britain*, 1st Ed. 1953, 2nd Ed. 1964.

it would be part of a legend not otherwise known either on silver or gold coins, but a reversed R is part of the legend COR or CORF retrograde, and this is with little doubt the correct reading. (Pl. XVI, 17).

To complete the picture of Thistleton coins mention should also be made of two silver Coritanian coins previously found here, one half-denomination coin, in fragments (Pl. XVI, 20), but generally similar to Pl. XVI, 11, which was found on the surface during the 1960 excavations at the site, and an inscribed whole denomination coin with the legend AVN AST found casually in 1958 (Pl. XVI, 21). Both are published in the *Sylloge* volume as nos. 372b and 376 respectively.

The Thistleton coins, of which the summarised details are given for convenience below, thus represent a cross-section of the middle period of Coritanian coins. There are none of the prototypes; there are, for instance, no silver coins where there is a boar or traces of a boar on the obverse. Similarly there are no coins with the long double legends which come right at the end of the series, possibly after the Roman conquest in the south of Britain.

COINS FROM THISTLETON, RUTLAND

(A) FOUND IN 1963 EXCAVATIONS

I. *Coritanian Silver Half-denomination*. Uninscribed, all obverses blank. (Pl. xvi, 7-15).

1. R 6.14 grains (0.398 grams) Horse right.
2. R 5.04 grains (0.326 grams) Horse right. Small chip.
3. R 5.07 grains (0.328 grams) Horse left. Corroded.
4. R 5.09 grains (0.329 grams) Horse left; cf. *Sylloge* Nos. 348-50, from Peterborough.
5. R 7.08 grains (0.459 grams) Horse left, added pellets below; cf. *Sylloge* Nos. 348-50, from Peterborough.
6. R 4.52 grains (0.293 grams) Horse left, added pellets below; cf. *Sylloge* Nos. 348-50, from Peterborough.
7. R 5.12 grains (0.332 grams) Horse left, added pellets behind; cf. *Sylloge* No. 372, from South Ferriby.
8. R 6.16 grains (0.399 grams) Horse left, rosette of hexagonal box. New variant.
9. R 4.54 grains (0.294 grams) Horse left, rosette of quadrilateral box. New variant.

II. *Coritanian Silver Half-denomination*—Inscribed, traces of wreath pattern on obverse. (Pl. xvi, 16-17).

10. R 6.26 grains (0.406 grams) Horse right; VE(lig.)P above, CO below; cf. *Sylloge* Nos. 396, 396a.
11. R 2.31 grains (0.150 grams) Horse right; B or R (retrog.) below. Chipped. New type.

III. *Coritanian Gold Stater*—Uninscribed. Core of plated forgery. (Pl. xvi, 18).

12. Æ 45.7 grains (2.96 grams) after cleaning. Apollo pattern, bottom half; horse left, rosette in front; cf. *Sylloge* No. 53.

IV. *Cunobelin Bronze of Camulodunum*. (Pl. xvi, 19).

13. Æ 28.9 grains (1.870 grams) Type of Mack 260. Sphinx right; priestly figure with severed head left.

(B) FOUND PREVIOUSLY. (Pl. xvi, 20-21).

14. R Fragment. Coritanian Silver Half-denomination. Horse left. *Sylloge* No. 372 (b).
15. R 14.9 grains (.956 grams.) Coritanian Silver Whole-denomination. Horse left. AVN AST *Sylloge* No. 376.

F. *Coins found at Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire*

Dragonby coin field at Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire, has previously yielded silver coins. Rescue excavations are being conducted there by Mr. J. May, who in 1964 has added two more to the number and in 1965 another.

The first of them is a silver prototype coin of full denomination (Pl. XVI, 22). It is generally similar to *Sylloge* no. 231, but has a mark below the obverse boar which recalls *Sylloge* no. 227. The weight is 17.6 grains (1.14 grams).

The second coin (Pl. XVI, 23) is yet another specimen of the small Vep. Corf. silver piece, unexpected before the Ancaster example came to light in 1961, and now known from four specimens found at three sites in Lincolnshire and Rutland. The legend above the horse is the usual $\text{v}\epsilon(\text{lig.}) \text{p}$, but below the horse is unquestionably to be read as $\text{c}]\text{or}$ retrograde. It is this Scunthorpe coin which makes the reading of the Thistleton coin (Pl. XVI, 17) virtually certain. The weight is 6.25 grains (0.41 grams).

The third coin is the most remarkable and fills another gap in the Coritanian series. It was found too late for inclusion in the Plate, but is illustrated [below]. It is another small silver coin, weighing 17.7 grains (1.15 grams), generally similar on both sides to the Vep. Corf. silver coins. The legend above the horse is, however, unquestionably isvp and it is probable that there is a part of an Δ between the strangely exaggerated forelegs and the hindlegs of the horse. It is plain that we have here for the first time the silver coin corresponding with the gold staters which read $\text{isvp } \Delta \text{sv}$; only one i is used on the silver, whereas two are used on the gold, but there are many examples on Celtic coins of the interchange of i with ii or e . The juxtaposition in this name of v and p raises a doubt whether the reading $\text{v}\epsilon(\text{lig.}) \text{p}$ is correct on all the coins I have described as Vep. Corf. silver pieces; on the very poor specimen from Ancaster, for instance, the right reading might have been the end of $\text{is}]\text{vp}$. What is now certain is that both legends exist. The obverse shows more clearly than any other yet found the pattern common to the silver coins reading Isup.A , Vep. Corf. and Aun.Ast.



G. *A Silver Minim of Tincommius*

A silver minim of Tincommius, that is to say the quarter of the normal silver denomination, has been found during 1965 in excavations at Ouslebury, near Winchester, in a first century context. The excavations are being conducted by Mr. John Collis of Pembroke College, Cambridge, by whose kindness, as well as that of the farmer, Mr. Hellard, I am able to publish the coin (Pl. XVI, 24).

On the obverse there are two interlaced squares, the sides of which are slightly curved. In the central compartment there is the legend c.f. . The design is contained within a beaded circle.

On the reverse there is a dog(?) prancing to the right. The legend, divided above and below the dog, reads ti above and, inverted, nc below.

The coin is in good condition and weighs 5.8 grains (0.375 grams). There are traces of green corrosion on both sides, which indicate that the silver contains an admixture of copper.

Presented in this way the coin would appear to be a new one, but on investigation this proves not to be so. There is a well known hoard from Lancing Down, Sussex, 1838, which

consisted mainly of silver coins of Verica, though these were probably accompanied by a forgery of a gold coin of Verica, some uninscribed silver coins and two Gaulish bronze coins, one of them a Germanus Indutilli. L. Evans illustrates four small silver coins of minim size and also what is perhaps a fifth, and implies that there were originally five others. These have disappeared and the only minims from the Lancing Down hoard which now survive are the four specimens illustrated by Evans on p. 185 and by Mack as nos. 117–120. These four minims have generally been attributed to, or associated with the name of, Verica; thus in *Origins*¹ I included them on p. 211. In fact, however, it has always been known that two of them, Mack 119 and 120, were uninscribed. Mack 117 (illustrated upside down) undoubtedly has an obverse legend VIRI, and Mack 118 has always hitherto been read as having a reverse legend VIRI too. But on re-examination the coin clearly has the same types as the new Ouslebury piece.

On looking back over old notes I see that nearly 30 years ago I had had my doubts over the reading of Mack 118 and had decided that there was probably a letter in the centre of the obverse. I now have no doubt that Mack 118 and the new coin, though from different dies, are of the same type. The obverse of Mack 118, (also reproduced upside down), has visible traces of CF, while the reverse appears only to have the legend TIN. The illustration in Mack may seem to show a convincing IN below the animal, but the first letter is illusory because it is really the animal's hind leg. We have, therefore, two specimens of a hitherto unsuspected minim of Tincommius, and, if Evans is correct, there was another one originally in the Lancing hoard, making three in all. The dog on these coins may be compared with the animal, probably also a dog, on the reverse of the Tincommius quarter stater, Mack 99.

The silver minim of $4\frac{1}{2}$ –5 grains (0.29–0.32 grams), I suspect, played a larger part in the currency of Britain than is generally supposed. This is because the coins are so small that they are rarely found. (Minims of only slightly larger size are regularly found in parts of Gaul.) Amongst the Atrebatas in Sussex minims normally took the place of bronze coinage as the smallest unit of currency. We at present know of at least 16 minims of ten types from seven sites on or near the south coast as follows:—

<i>Uninscribed</i>	Mack 90–91	Obv. Helmeted head right. Rev. Horse right; circles etc. Several in Lancing Down Hoard; 2 in Maresfield, Duddleswell, Hoard, 1825, both in B.M. 3.5–4 grains (0.23–0.27 grams).
	Mack 119	Obv. Square with curved sides. Rev. Horse left; circles, etc. One only known, from Lancing Down Hoard, in B.M. 4.8 grains (0.31 grams).
	Mack 120	Obv. Cross of swords, severed heads in the angles? Rev. Unidentified design, based on bucranium? One in B.M., from Lancing Down hoard, which contained, according to Evans, 3 others. One found in Winchester Cathedral excavations. ² 3.8 grains (frag.) and 2.61 grains (frag.); (0.25 and 0.17 grams).

¹ D. F. Allen, *The Origins of British Coinage*, A Reappraisal, in S.S. Frere, *Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain*, 1958.

² D. W. Philipson in B. Cunliffe, *Winchester Excavations, 1949–1960*, 1964, p. 56, pl. IX.

<i>Tincommius</i>	Mack 118	Obv. Two interlaced squares; cf. Rev. Dog right; TI/NC or TI/N. One from Ouslebury; one in B.M. from Lancing Down hoard, which, according to Evans, contained another. 5.8 and 5.2 grains (0.375 and 0.34 grams).
<i>Verica</i>	Mack 117	Obv. VIRI between parallels; rosettes. Rev. Unidentified design; animal head? One in B.M. from Lancing Down hoard, which contained, according to Evans, another. 4.8 grams (0.31 grains).
	Evans p. 184	Obv. Head right. Rev. Horse right; VIR.F CO. The coin, reproduced by Evans, is lost. It was presumably a minim. It was in the Lancing Down hoard. No record of weight.
	Mack 132	Obv. Torque, c.f. Head of Tiberius right; VE(lig.)RI. Found at East Challow, Berks, bef. 1900. In Ashmolean Museum. 3.5 grains (0.23 grams).
<i>A? . . .</i>	Mack 316	Obv. Two interlaced squares. A. Rev. Bird right in tree. Specimen destroyed, but preserved in an electrotype in B.M.; found at East Harting, Sussex, 1938, between Harting Down and Beacon Hill Camp. 3.8 grains (0.25 grams).
<i>Crab</i>	Mack 372	Obv. Hexagonal pattern; trefoils in angles. Rev. CRAB in panel; o and s above and below. Found at Hod Hill, Dorset. 4.5 grains (0.29 grams).
<i>Eppaticcu</i>	Mack 264	Obv. EPATI between 2 circles-and-dots. Rev. Lion's head. Surviving only in an electrotype in the British Museum. Find spot and present whereabouts unknown. Weight not recorded.

Mack 316, surely wrongly placed by Mack under Kent, makes an interesting comparison with the new coin. The obverse pattern is almost identical, but the legend A, which has been taken to stand for Aminius, is not open to doubt. I have tried to read it the other way up as a v for Verica, but the crossbar seems unmistakable. It may be recalled that there are quarter-staters of Tincommius, Mack 97, which have on the obverse a legend TINC C A or TINC C B. CA or CB are not yet understood; there may be a connection here. Otherwise we have no explanation for the A; the use of A for Atrebatas would be without parallel in this country. The coin must, however, belong to the same general series as those of Tincommius and Verica, the sons of Commius. The remaining son of Commius, Eppillus, did not, so far as we know, strike minims; the place of the silver minims in Kent is generally taken by bronze coins, but a fine uninscribed bronze minim, akin to coins of Eppillus, Mack 316f., is known from three examples.

More silver minims will certainly turn up in excavations, especially if the excavators are alive to their existence.¹ The half-denomination of silver is well known amongst the

¹ This was written before I learned that the 1966 season of excavations at Ouslebury had produced another silver minim, this time of Verica and of an

unpublished type. This new coin will deserve a note next year.

Coritani (as we have seen earlier in these notes), the Iceni (2 Antedi, 3 Ecen and 5 uninscribed are known) and very occasionally the Dobunni (3 or 4 only are known). It is, in fact, only in the centre of Britain, in the region of Tasciovanus and Cunobelinus, that the silver minim is, up to now, totally lacking.

H. *A Dobunnic reading confirmed*

A Dobunnic stater has hitherto been known only from the example in the British Museum found at Hod Hill. It is the bronze core of a forgery, and the legend on it is little more than a zigzag. Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, p. 149, read it as INARA, giving alternatives. I have read it, *Origins*, p. 254, as INAM. But there has always been doubt whether this was a true legend at all.

Mr. H. R. Mossop has now acquired a specimen, originally bought from a shop in Swindon, which is of gold and clearly shows that the legend INA is correct (Pl. XVI, 25). The remaining letter or letters are interfered with by a crack. The coin is of good reddish gold on the surface; though it weighs 58 grains (3.76 grams), it has a specific gravity of 9.3, which might imply a copper core. But one may compare the gold coin in Pl. XVI, 2 which has an even lower specific gravity. In any case the dies are absolutely normal for a Dobunnic inscribed stater of the middle period. We should now add INA[M] positively to the list of inscriptions.

A THIRD GOLD COIN OF MERCIA

By H. E. PAGAN

THE coin generally known as the 'Ciold' solidus¹ is typologically impossible. It is struck from two incompatible dies, the obverse a faithful reproduction of a Roman *aureus* of the second half of the fourth century, probably of Valentinian I or Valens, the reverse a version of the common Byzantine 'cross on steps' type. When the only known specimen first appeared, at the Bateman Heirlooms sale in 1893, no attempt was made to account for it; and this was again the case at the Grantley sale of 1944. In 1948 Dr. C. H. V. Sutherland, in his standard work on the Anglo-Saxon gold coinage, agreed with the coin's present owner that the legend on the right of the bust reads CIOLH, which is not in dispute. What I think does require critical examination in the light of progress made in this field in the last few years is his attractive and tentative attribution of the coin to King Ceol or Ceolric of Wessex, who reigned between 591 and 597.

Three coins known to Dr. Sutherland seemed to form a pre-*thrymsa* 'solidus' coinage: that under discussion, another very peculiar coin with a head on the obverse and a 'Two Emperors' reverse, and an imitation of a coin of Helena in the British Museum, to which it came in the George III collection. To these Mr. Philip Grierson added (*NC* 1955) three more, mules of the same type as the 'Ciold' coin but of a style and treatment so different that a direct relationship seemed to him unlikely. They are struck from two pairs of dies, one represented by a single coin in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, the other by coins at the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Germanisches National-Museum at Nuremberg. They appear to be English of 7th century date. Grierson suggested at the time that they were intended as ornaments from the first—as they certainly were used later, since traces of mounts adhere—and current opinion would agree. What is clear is that the 'Helena' and 'Two Emperors' coins cannot form part of a 'solidus' coinage since they always have been ornaments (Dr. J. P. C. Kent points out that the heavy gold rim that surrounds the 'Two Emperors' coin was part of it as first produced), and so, if the 'Ciold' coin, which of all the 'solidi' has the most claim to be designed for currency, in that it looks the part, can be detached, the 'solidus' coinage must fail.

It is not a coin of Ceol of Wessex. In his 1955 paper Grierson showed that the 'cross-on-steps' design on the reverse is not derived from an original earlier than the reign of Heraclius (610–641), which rules out the attribution to Ceol. The spelling CIOLH cannot refer to any of Ceol's known successors (no regal coinage being known in Wessex anyway until the accession of Beorhtric in 786), and the provenance of the Bateman coin, found near Manchester in 1849, inspires little confidence in a Wessex origin.

The letters to the right of the bust are c (with the top bar missing) i o (diamond-shaped) l h in Roman capitals of a size not found on either *thrymsa* or *sceatta* coinages; and the letters on the left-hand side are only smaller because the die is too large for the flan. There is no reason to believe that this is not a single continuous legend. The stumbling-block is that the legend appears to begin D-A-, which looks for all the world like a corruption

¹ The coin is illustrated in Brooke's *English Coins*, pl. LXV, 3.

of a legend such as DN VALENS AUG. If, however, instead of beginning at the bottom left of the coin and proceeding clockwise round the coin, one begins at the top right, reads the letters on the right-hand side, and continues from the top left downwards, one arrives at the legend CIOLHE (with the bottom stroke missing) A (probably unbarred) R D (reversed) — CIOLHEARD. Cioh(e)ard is a moneyer's name which appears on the coins of Offa, Coenwulf, and Ceolwulf I.

This is not unreasonable. Offa's moneyers possessed the technical accomplishment necessary to produce this coin, and were familiar with the prototypes from which this coin is derived; a late fourth-century bust lies behind several portrait coins of Offa and his successors, and, whether the reverse is copied directly from a Byzantine coin or from a Western imitation of one, English moneyers drew on a wide stock of foreign issues for their reverses, a Beneventine design—Beneventum struck a 'cross-on-steps' type—being imitated some years later by Coenwulf's moneyer Oba. It is entirely coherent with the known habits of Offa's moneyers that no attempt has been made to reproduce the drapery of the prototype's bust, and that it has been replaced not by annulets, as it would have been at an earlier date, but by pellets. Two details of the legend, the diamond-shaped o and the reversed d, are seldom found on Anglo-Saxon coins, but reversed d's are found on two coins of exactly this period (a coin of Offa, moneyer Pendred, and a coin of Archbishop Aethelheard of Canterbury issued jointly with Coenwulf), and the o is quite frequent at this date, especially on the coins of Coenwulf which have been assigned to the London mint. The way in which the legend is to be read, too, is one confined, on English coins, to the coinage of Offa.

The recent re-appearance of a gold coin of the moneyer Pendred, similarly omitting the name of a king, makes it clear that the king's name was not a necessary adjunct on the gold coinage; it does not necessarily mean that the gold coinage was not official, although we should ponder the absence so far of any gold coin of the period of a definite Canterbury moneyer. The weight of the Ciolheard, 63.6 gr., lies halfway between that of the Offa dinar (66.0) and that of the Pendred coin (57.7). It is not consistent with that of the Helena coin (51.9).

Is it a coin of Offa or Coenwulf? Coins with the name of a moneyer Ceolheard, Ciolheard, or Ciolhard, are found both of Offa and of Coenwulf, not obviously linked, but quite possibly struck by the same man. Under Coenwulf he is considered to have struck at London. The coins of Offa sometimes have portraits and sometimes not, and are closely connected with those of Pendred; on them the moneyer's name is spelt Ciolhard or Cellhard. Those of Coenwulf are of rather coarser work, although not entirely dissimilar; the moneyer's name is Ciolheard or Ceolheard. The coin could belong to either group; the peculiar arrangement of the legend, the attention to the details of the original, the use of pellets for drapery, and the connexion with Pendred and with a notable coin of Queen Cynethryth now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, favour the first, the spelling of the moneyer's name, the size of the lettering, and its general appearance favour the second. We must seriously consider the possibility that Coenwulf, too, had his gold coinage.

The reverse legend has not been interpreted—it apparently reads, on the left, voz triangle, and, on the right, α (a c on its side?), two uncertain letters, triangle — and can only be assumed to be blundered. An optimist might read LONDONIA. The triangles on the left and right of the foot of the cross could be survivals of the c and b of CONOB, but the legend has come a long way from VICTORIA AVG; the lateness of the date would admit the possibility that the coin is copied from Charlemagne's coinage issued from Beneventum from 788 onwards,

of this type, and not from coins of Heraclius or his successor Constans II (641-688). The Beneventine coins carried the reverse legend DOMS/CAROLUS, which is slightly nearer that on this coin; but the resemblance is not great. A feature of the reverse which appears on no other 'cross-on-steps' coin is the presence of two pellets at the top of the steps.

The duty that remains to be performed is to point out that the evidence of this coin's obverse legend no longer has any bearing on the name of the man who was king of Wessex from 591 to 597. Manuscripts A, B, and C of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle give it as Ceol in their annal for 591, as does A in the genealogy at its beginning; manuscript E, which presents a good Northern tradition but seems to be no better at this point, calls him Ceolric. The spelling CIOLH was hardly appropriate to either.

COINAGE IN THE AGE OF BURGRED

By H. E. PAGAN

BETWEEN 852 and 874 England south of the Humber and north of the Thames was dominated by Burgred of Mercia. Like all Offa's successors he is a shadowy figure, but his reign was long and the coinage that bears his name is commoner and more widely circulated than any struck in England from the Roman occupation up to his time. The first part of this paper is an attempt to see this coinage and the reasons for it in perspective, the second part an attempt to indicate the broad lines of classification; an exact arrangement must be deferred until we see the 9th century more clearly.

Of the man himself not much is known. He may have been the son of his predecessor Berhtwulf, who is not heard of again after his defeat by a Viking raid in 851. We can guess that the transition between the two was peaceful from the continuity in the membership of the Mercian court at Tamworth in Staffordshire. In 853 (A.S.C) he called in the military assistance of Wessex for a spring campaign against the Welsh, which met with success, and the alliance was cemented that summer by his marriage to Aethelwulf of Wessex's daughter Aethelswyth. His signatures to charters provide the only evidence of his activities over the next 15 years; the A.S.C. is silent until in 868 the great Viking army that had landed in East Anglia two years earlier and had already conquered Northumbria settled deep in Mercian territory at Nottingham. Burgred summoned help from his brother-in-law Aethelred, king of Wessex and Southern England since 866, and although they could not achieve military success they induced the invaders to withdraw. A lull followed, but in 871 Wessex too was attacked and Burgred, who failed to send support all through a year of battles, found himself isolated at the end of it. Viking armies wintered in Mercia for the next three years, and they finally ousted Burgred in 874. He fled abroad and died in exile in Rome. A successor, Ceolwulf II, maintained Mercian independence for a few more years by reaching an agreement with the Vikings, but he disappears before the end of the 870's, and when Mercia is next mentioned it is administered by Ealdorman Aethelred for Burgred's surviving brother-in-law, Aelfred of Wessex.

In the middle of the 9th century four major coinages circulated in England. North of the Humber a copper coinage, issued from York in the names of the kings of Northumbria and the archbishops of York, was used as far north as Hexham and Carlisle. It had only recently been revived, and the model it employed was not the penny coinage as used in the other kingdoms but the previous Northumbrian coinage discontinued about 790 and unaffected by Offa's reforms. Its influence did not extend outside the Northumbrian borders. To the south there were coinages in the names of the kings of East Anglia, Mercia, and Wessex and of the archbishops of Canterbury. The area these served was roughly that supplied by the coinage of Offa; although coin was now used further into Wessex, a line drawn from Gloucester to the Wash still represented the northern limit of the spread of the silver penny. The organization was also much on the same lines as it had been in the closing years of Offa, and the reign of Coenwulf. Four mints were employed: one in East Anglia, standing apart from the rest and primarily supplying its immediate neighbourhood, London, Canterbury, and Rochester. The largest was Canterbury, where the king and archbishop

employed some eight moneyers between them, and where the bulk of the Wessex/Kent coinage was produced. The dies were cut by one hand, and there is a general if not complete uniformity between them. At Rochester the establishment was shared between Aethelwulf of Wessex and Kent and Berhtwulf of Mercia; but a few years before 851 (Mr. J. J. North has suggested 848; cf. *N. Circ.* Oct., 1961, p. 213) the designs of Berhtwulf's coins diverge from those of Aethelwulf, and it is possible that he transferred his mint elsewhere, more likely perhaps that he acquired a separate die-cutter for his issues. Of London of this period there exists one coin, assigned to it with some probability by Brooke; the style is not that of Rochester, and it is reminiscent of London coins of Wiglaf. The moneyer's name is Tatel. Nowhere in England (outside Northumbria) had coinage been on a large scale at any time since the Mercian kingdom collapsed in the 820's.

In 851 the balance of power altered. The expedition that defeated Berhtwulf and sacked Canterbury and London was completely defeated by Aethelwulf and his sons, and the predominance of Wessex became more marked. When coinage was resumed after the Viking threat had receded, it was on a very different basis. The mint at Rochester was gradually run down; Mercia did not continue to coin from there, and, after a period in which the Rochester die-cutter supplied his moneyers with dies identical except in the punches employed with those made at Canterbury, dies were sent to Rochester from Canterbury. How long this truncated existence continued is doubtful; there is no evidence for Rochester again in this century. At the same time the archiepiscopal coinage was brought into line with the regal, and made similar in all respects except for the retention of a facing portrait on the obverse. So Wessex achieved a single design (obv. head of king or archbishop; rev. moneyer's name on limbs of cross) and stronger control over its manufacture. The next development, probably not envisaged in the original plan, took place under Aethelberht after his father Aethelwulf's death in 858. The issue of the type was continued, only the king's name being altered, and it was produced in very large quantities by a mint personnel expanded to 30-40 moneyers—the object presumably to drive all pre-851 coins out of circulation and secure a monopoly not only of issue but of currency. There may too have been a need simply for more coins. Not surprisingly the Mercian mint at London became practically extinct in the face of competition on this scale. Where one would expect an expansion after the closure of the Mercian part of Rochester, none occurs; Berhtwulf's moneyer Tatel continues to operate under Burgred, but on a level of output so small that the Dorking hoard (found 1817) contains only one coin of his although deposited midway through Aethelberht's reign (It contains no specimen of Aethelberht's second type). The actual coin is now not known, but from other examples (one of these is ill. pl. I, 1), which provide 4 obverse and 3 reverse dies, it is clear that it was a coin of *BMC* type A, moneyer's name on rev. between two whole lunettes, of large diameter and weight, and a flowing but coarse style. These coins are linked only to those of the moneyer Duceil, a prolific moneyer later on, and if London was a one-moneyer mint likely to have been Tatel's successor. Until well into the 860's London's role was symbolic rather than useful; the London traders were quite content to use the coins of Canterbury, the type of which was in fact imitated on the continent.

They were not allowed to be content for ever. Just after the deposit of the Dorking hoard Aethelberht changed the type. His father's head was replaced by a new portrait with a double horizontal diadem and a distinctive arrangement of six pellets at the neck over three vertical bars. On the reverse was a floreate cross. 7 moneyers, of whom 6 had struck the first type and 3 were to strike later, are known for it. This need not represent quite as small an issue

as it sounds, for the only hoard deposited between 865 and 870—Aethelberht died in 866—that we know much of is the Trewhiddle hoard (found 1774), not strong on coins of Wessex. But there was a slackening of activity, and some time about now the London mint began to operate seriously for Burgred. It suffered at first from a very unskilled die-cutter, whose products Keary and public opinion have condemned as 'Viking'; then, dramatically, 'six-pellet' obverse dies of fine style, in Burgred's name, are used by the moneyers Cenred (pl. I, 2), Cethellulf, Duda, and Eanred, in conjunction with reverse dies of lunette types A and C (lunettes broken at the corners). They were part of the London personnel, Duda and Eanred in other coins forming a close-knit group with Dudecil, Dudeman, Tata, and Wine, (pl. I, 3, 5, 8) moneyers of rough style either not known for six-pellet dies or only known for derivatives. Since the London mint does not otherwise imitate Canterbury, and the imitation of these dies is as nearly photographic as an Anglo-Saxon could make it, I think that this is a consignment of dies sent from Canterbury to set London on its feet. This is partly borne out by the fact that the reverse dies Cethellulf and Duda used are of the rough London style. Obviously a man operating at Canterbury would not provide reverse dies for each and every of Burgred's moneyers. Thereafter the London mint flourished.

Aethelberht died in 866 at a time of illusory peace. His brother Aethelred (866–871) retained the portrait of the six-pellet coins, although he dispensed with the pellets, for a short time, coupling it with a 'four-line' lunette reverse, i.e. moneyer's name in two lines instead of one in the middle of the reverse. This gave way (c. 867/8) to a normal 'three-line' reverse, Burgred type A, and a simpler bust, which lasted the rest of the reign. Brooke believed that Aethelred was the first to strike a lunette type; but the Dorking and Trewhiddle hoards and the evidence of Tatel and six-pellet busts, show that the earliest lunette coins were those of Burgred. The type was a Mercian one, used by Wiglaf at London and by Ceolwulf I at Canterbury and in East Anglia. Its great advantage was that it required little technical skill to reproduce and advertised the name of its moneyer in an unequivocal way. Now lunette types were being issued at both London and Canterbury; London, which had spent the years 865/6 to 868 striking large amounts for Burgred of lunette coins of types C and D went over to A roughly when Canterbury adopted it, and once more a single type was achieved.

An astonishing volte-face in coinage policy had taken place. Just when Aethelberht had swamped the country with a massive centrally issued type, the London mint revived and the Canterbury mint decayed, until London produced, say, 60% to Canterbury's 40% of the lunette coinage. The reasons we can only guess at; establishment of a more equal relationship between Wessex and Mercia? increasing difficulties in the supply of bullion to Canterbury and the protection of it there? exploitation of a new source of silver in Wales by Burgred? What remained was a desire to have an uniform coinage—it is worth mentioning that the only Mercian coin earlier than the reign of Burgred in the Gravesend hoard, deposited c. 871, is a lunette coin of Ceolwulf I, a pleasing reflection of 9th century illiteracy.

For some years (868–874) the union was maintained. Lunette type A was struck by Burgred at London (average staff of 15 moneyers), Aethelred and Aelfred successively at Canterbury (12 moneyers), and Archbishop Ceolnoth at Canterbury (1 or 2 moneyers). The coinage gradually became more debased, the supply of silver proving unequal to the amount of coin required; a coin of the archiepiscopal moneyer Hebecca for Aelfred, found as long ago as 1747, *BMC* 163, has lost all traces even of a silver wash. About 871 the diameter of the coinage was reduced, but it is doubtful whether the silver content was increased by this step. Gradually, too, the London mint began to supply a wider area. A scatter of finds from

Monmouthshire north to Corbridge on the Roman wall, for the most part connected with churches and graveyards and not with Viking loot, mark the spread into Old Mercia and the north of the use of coin, a process accelerated when the Northumbrian styca coinage was abandoned. The processes of debasement and expansion are linked. There must also have been a drain on silver stocks by payments to Viking raiders; these are unlikely to have been in coin *qua* coin, but coins are likely to have been included in such payments for their weight in silver.

Burgred's deposition halted operations at London for a time, London perhaps passing into Viking hands, but before long his successor Ceolwulf II is found operating with a group of Burgred's moneyers and sharing a mint with Aelfred (as had possibly Burgred right at the end of his reign). That the mint was still at London is shown by the discovery in 1838 in St. Paul's Churchyard of a lead block with impressions of the obverse and reverse dies of a coin of Aelfred *BMC* type V (his second substantive) by Eadulf, a moneyer for Burgred and for the 'Two Emperors' coin of Ceolwulf. *BMC* type V was the type Ceolwulf and Aelfred shared. The coins were of increased size and much purer silver. Canterbury struck *BMC* type V for Aelfred and the archbishop only. This arrangement continued until the end of the Mercian kingdom.

Summary of suggested coinage 852—880.

LONDON:	Burgred only until c. 873/4; Burgred and Aelfred (?) c. 874; Ceolwulf and Aelfred c. 875—880 or later. Lunette A until c. 863; Lunette A and C 863—866; Lunette C and D 866—868; Lunette A 868—874; <i>BMC</i> V and 'Two Emperors' 875—880.
CANTERBURY:	Aethelwulf until 858; Aethelberht 858—866; Aethelred 866—871; Aelfred from 871. Archbishop Ceolnoth until 870; Archbishop Aethe(l)red from 870. Name on cross until c. 863; Six-pellet 863—866; Four-line Lunette 866—867/8; Lunette A 867/8—c. 875 and miscellaneous Lunette types c. 873—875; <i>BMC</i> V with the ephemeral types <i>BMC</i> II and III 875—880 or later.
ROCHESTER:	Aethelwulf and (?) successors. Name on cross (own dies) until c. 854.

Hoard evidence—in particular the Gravesend hoard, which contained 429 coins of Burgred, 57 of Aethelred, and 1 of Aelfred, and the Croydon hoard, which contained about 95 coins of Burgred, 25 of Aethelred, and 31 of Aelfred—enables it to be said that the period 868—873 saw issues of Lunette type A alone from London and Lunette type A alone from Canterbury. All lunette coins for Burgred of varieties C and D belong before 868; all B, C, and D coins of Aelfred date at any rate after 872. This is shown by the absence of these coins of Aelfred from all finds up to and including Croydon, deposited 872/873, and their appearance in the Beeston Tor hoard, which looks altogether later and contains coins of Burgred and Aelfred in equal numbers.

The summary I have given is a considerable simplification of existing works of reference. There are coins which claim to represent (i) a lunette type D for Aethelberht, (ii) a lunette type D for Aethelred (iii) a London coinage of type A for Aethelred. Most of these are genuine 9th century pieces; to exclude from the canon genuine coins which are not Viking imitations requires a fresh examination of what is or is not an official product. The total of coins involved is not large. There are four groups which I think obscure the true picture:

I. MODERN FORGERIES

These do not affect the immediate issues, but there exist two groups of lunette forgeries. Coins of Aelfred by the moneyers Lude, Osric, Oeamer, and Tata were condemned by Blunt and Thompson in *BNJ* 1956, pp. 21–22. One coin of Tata, *BMC* 172, acquired by the BM from the Higgs sale in 1830, is not included in this group, and in fact served as the forger's model. All are of type A and were probably made after publication of Hawkins' *English Silver Coins* in 1841. The other group consists of three lunette A coins of Burgred by the moneyer Beranh, from a single pair of dies; these are in the BM and are blatantly false. The coins of Beranh in *BMC*, on the other hand, are genuine. So are coins of the moneyers Beagstan and Hugerod for Burgred now in the forgery trays in the British Museum.

2. MODERN IMPROVEMENTS

The temptation of altering the common coins of Burgred into rarer specimens of Aethelred is obvious, especially because this could be achieved merely by the alteration of four letters in the obverse legend. *BMC* 12 of Aethelred, a coin of the Burgred moneyer Diga of Burgred style, acquired with the Bank of England collection in 1877, has had the flan cut away at this point and three new letters inserted on a lower level, giving +EDLRED REX—for BURGRED REX—. Similarly a coin of Husa at Copenhagen, one of three apparent examples of Aethelred type D, has been doctored from a classic Burgred obverse die. Both these coins were the only known examples of the work of these moneyers for Aethelred, and their names should be removed from the lists.

3. CONTEMPORARY ILLITERATE COPIES

Two are known for Burgred. The legend on one (*BMC* 355 ex Gravesend) indicates its moneyer was called Idiga, but it is in fact a barbarous copy of a coin of Diga omitting the cross-bar on the cross that invariably precedes Diga's name. The other is a barbarous imitation of Husa (Lockett sale). For Aethelred there exists a problematic coin with an illiterate obverse die and a reverse die of Burgred style, moneyer Dudda (*BMC* 16).

4. UNOFFICIAL ISSUES

Thornier ground. In this category I would include not only culpable contemporary fakes, but coins issued in an interregnum and periods of political uncertainty and on any occasion when supplies from the proper issuing centre were disrupted. Their existence is not evidence either for the types they bear or for their moneyer's claims to be moneyers for a given king. A definition of unofficial coins in the name of the Wessex kings is that they have in common dies not cut by the Canterbury die-cutter and moneyers not working at the Canterbury mint, yet do not form a group associable with the regular product of any other mint. Where they differ from what has been previously accepted as a contemporary forgery is that they can be and often are of good workmanship and weight. To give an example of how this readjusts our views on the coinage: the Gravesend hoard contains one coin of Aelfred, moneyer Deigmund, lunette A. It is in the same idiom as other coins of Aethelred and Aelfred, but it does not satisfy any of the criteria that would specifically associate it with Canterbury. It is the only recorded coin of this moneyer and the only coin of Aelfred in the hoard. When the beginning of Aelfred's reign is considered, it becomes very easy to see why his only coin is an unofficial one; the Vikings remained in Wessex throughout 871 and the difficulties of coining at Canterbury must have been insuperable. The field would have been open for

the independent operator to produce coins of Aethelred's lunette type with the name of the new king, or still with the name of the old king. Which latter frolic is suggested by the hoard evidence; Gravesend, deposited in the autumn after his death, contained 1 or perhaps 2 unofficial coins out of 59 of Aethelred, Croydon, two years later, 5 out of 25. The moneyer Denewald, who strikes coins of Burgred style in Aethelred's name, showing their unofficial nature by mis-spelling *AEDELRED*, uses on them a bust of Burgred represented by only one not typical example in Gravesend; this suggests the bust was not in circulation and available to copy in Aethelred's lifetime.

Coins in Aethelred's name of Burgred style, lunette A, are known for Berheah, Dealla, Denewald, Dudd, Dudda, Lulla, Man, Wine, and probably Wulfearð (cf. *SNC* Nov. 1919, Nov. 1923, and Gantz sale 1027). Be(a)rheah and Wine are also known for coins, one apiece, of Aethelred in Aethelred style. Yet none of these constitute a regular London type for Aethelred; among the Burgred style moneyers only Wine is known for more than one obverse die; of his three one has a mis-spelt legend (as also the coins of Denewald, Dudda, and Man) and one gives Aethelred the Mercian title (as does the coin of Dealla). The proportion of error is too high to accept the coins as regular. No coin struck for Burgred at London—and 600 exist—ever has an incorrect legend, and the same can be said for Aethelred at Canterbury. The coins of Berheah (ill. *BNJ* 1906, no. 23) and Lulla are fairly convincing, but they are not in the least similar. The coin of Tirulf (BM ex Beeston Tor) is likely to be a coin of Aelfred, reading *ELBERED* for *ELDERED*; the legend is faulty anyway.

It is much easier to repudiate the coins of lunette type D for Aethelberht and Aethelred. The first is represented by a single coin of the moneyer Dudda. It is agreed that it is not a cast and the obverse is attempting the name Aethelberht. It cannot belong to anyone else. Equally, the style of the obverse would have been abominable even if violent double-striking had not occurred. Blunt has called attention (*BNJ* XXVII, pp. 54–56) to a floreate cross coin of Aethelberht by Dudda in the Hunterian Collection at Glasgow, very elegant and assured, showing that a Dudda was working under Aethelberht and could have struck this. But he did not. Compare *BMC* 13–15 of Aethelred with the unspeakable assortment of Burgred Duddas, and the conclusion is inevitably that two men of the same name, one at Canterbury, one at London, were working c. 865–870. The coin under discussion is a London product by a Burgred moneyer; the mis-spelling of Aethelberht's name shows once more that this is not a coin of Aethelberht. Nor need it have been issued in his lifetime.

Lastly, Aethelred type D. It is first reported in Grueber's volume of *BMC* A/S Series, on the basis of a coin he may not have seen, the coin of Hussa then in the Montagu collection and now in Copenhagen. Since then its existence has been faithfully reported without any attached list of coins. The total appears to be three: Hussa (tooled Burgred), Ethered (BM ex Beeston Tor), and Ealhmund (BM ex Lawrence). The coin of Ealhmund is, or was, in the Aelfred trays in the British Museum. The last two are by the same hand and carry the same distinctive head with a mass of curls, wide flans, and bold lettering; both read *AEÐERED* on the obverse for *AEDELRED*. Although they are in their way distinguished, their maker offends against the convention that the reverse die has *MON* in the top lunette and *ETA* in the bottom with the moneyer's name between, by writing *EALHMY NMON DETA*. Neither is known for Aethelred from any other coin or for Burgred. Theirs is a private aberration.

I do not think that I am trying to create an artificial system of order in this part of the A/S coinage. The number of moneyers to be disregarded sounds large, but the total of coins is small. The coinage was in a bad state both in content and authority—when a large issue

of higher silver content was made in the 880's, lunette coins immediately disappeared from circulation—and the need for coin seems to have outstripped supply. The London die-cutter may have produced dies with the name of the king of Wessex to meet a special demand. This does not mean that the general distinction between the coinages of Wessex and Mercia should be blurred, or that type sequences should be needlessly confused.

The subjoined list of Canterbury moneyers includes those whose coins clearly mark them as receiving dies from the Canterbury die-engravers.

FLOREATE CROSS: AETHELBERHT

Cenweald, Cuneferth, Degbearht, Dudda, Herebeald, Oshere, Torhtmund.

FLOREATE CROSS: CEOLNOTH

(?Cenw)eald.

FOUR-LINE LUNETTE: AETHELRED

Biarnmod, Cuthelm, Torhtmund.

LUNETTE A: AETHELRED

Biarneah, Biarnmod, Biarnwine, Burgnoth, Diarulf, Dudda, Dunn, Elbere, Ella, Ethelred, Herebeald, Hereulf, Lang, Liabinc, Lifinc, Mann, Manninc, Oshere, Torhtmund.

LUNETTE A: CEOLNOTH

Hebeca, Tocga (facing head and head to r.).

LUNETTE A: AELFRED

Bosa, Cialmod, Diarelm, Dunn, Eadulf, Ealhere, Elbere, ?Etheleah, Ethelmund, Ethelulf, Ethered, Heaberht, Hebeca, Herebeald, Heremod, Hereulf, Liabinc, Luhinc, Manninc, Osgeard, Oshere, Sefreth, Sigestef, Tidbald, Torhtmund.

LUNETTE A: AETHERED

Not known. Hebeca works for Aelfred at this time.

LUNETTE B: AELFRED

Biarnwald, ?Denemund, Dunn, Ethelmund, Sigestef, Tidbearht. It is possible that the Ethelmund coin (Ryan 712) is from the Dunsforth find; if so, Dunsforth falls into the post-Croydon group with Hook Norton and Beeston Tor.

LUNETTE C: AELFRED

?Etheleah, Manninc.

LUNETTE D: AELFRED

Diarulf, Ethered.

NOTE: Omissions from Aelfred. Two main London groups: one akin to the single respectable coin of Berheah for Aethelred, Burgred 'horizontal' style, legend AELBRED REX, moneyers Biarnred, Dudd, Dudinc, Ethelere, Wulfear. The other is related to the bulk of unofficial Aethelreds, with mis-spelt and inaccurate legends, ELFERED REX or similar, Burgred 'vertical' style, moneyers Denewald, Dudd, Elelaf, Tata, Tilefeine, ?Tirulf, Wine, Wulfear. I have said above that Burgred and Aelfred shared London on a regular basis c. 874; this is because of the growth in the number of respectable coins. But perhaps the better coins were issued over the whole period 871–874, and in that case a solution is:

Die-School A strikes coins on a regular basis right at the end of Aethelred's reign (Berheah) and under Aelfred.

Die-School B, which Burgred's coins show to be closely related to A, starts striking for Aethelred contemporarily with A, but takes pains to show that whatever A thinks the arrangement is not official. I do not like this solution much, but the alternative, accepting London Aethelreds as in every sense official, does not square with the deliberate errors on the coins.

Three other coins I omit from Aelfred. These are the unique coins of Cialulf and Deigmund in the BM, the former of which has no links of a substantial nature with either mint, and the Fitzwilliam coin of Dudda, which looks like an illiterate copy although its existence might suggest an original Dudda.

BURGRED

An examination of the dies of 592 coins of Burgred has shown that they were struck from 521 obverse dies and 558 reverse dies. Of the reverse dies 316 were of type A, 143 of type D, 80 of type C, 17 of type B, 2 of type E. This represents perhaps a third of the coins of Burgred in circulation now, and a tiny proportion of those actually issued. No survey of a comparable 9th century coinage's dies has been undertaken, but compared for instance with the St. Eadmund coinage the number of die-links and die-duplications is uncommonly small. It should not be surprising if few coins are assignable to an individual category.

Broadly speaking, the coins are of three kinds: an early group (pl. I, 1-8) of which the easiest identification is given by the king's eye, always represented by a pellet within a complete circle. After this period the eye is indicated by a pellet with a crescent underneath or merely by a pellet. The coins are large, the legends clear. The king's name is invariably preceded by a cross, the legend often begins above the king's head, the letter O is often diamond-shaped, the letter U is a plain V. I have found 16 moneyers striking in this group, 14 using reverses of type C, 8 using type A, 10 using type D, and 1 type B. The two other groups run from the end of the first to the end of Burgred's reign; the same moneyers strike both, and although parallelism in their issue is not complete, the evidence of the Gravesend and Beeston Tor hoards shows that the difference between them is not chronological. The evidence of these hoards also provides a starting-point for the arrangement of the coinage as a whole.

Beeston Tor is mostly composed of coins of a reduced diameter, the styles of which are only represented by 2 coins out of over 400 of Burgred in Gravesend. They fall into 2 categories, which could best be described by saying that the busts are respectively *horizontal* and *vertical*. The horizontal coins (pl. I, 9-12, 14, 17, 19, 21) have a double headband going slantwise across the head, dividing the hair from the face; the wedges representing the mouth have their points directed inwards; there is one curl on the forehead; the letter U has a wedge where the two sides join at the bottom; the reverses have up to six pellets in the bottom right-hand corner. The vertical coins (pl. I, 13, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, 23) have a single vertical headband, a dash after the king's title, and the x of REX formed like a x and not like a cross as on the horizontal coins; the wedges of the mouth point outwards; the reverse never has more than three pellets in each corner; there are two curls on the forehead. The essentials of the difference, which are the nature of the headband, the number of curls on the forehead, the direction in which the wedges of the mouth point, and the presence or absence of a dash after the king's title, can be traced backwards from the Beeston Tor coins to the coins being issued immediately before the deposit of the Gravesend hoard, and from these back to the coins of type D issued up to c. 868 when Burgred permanently adopted A. All coins that do not have the pellet-in-circle eye are divisible into horizontal and vertical.

That the order of events I have given is correct can be seen from the progressive development of the pellets in the corners of the reverse. The most complicated arrangements occur in Beeston Tor, with coins of Burgred and Aelfred in equal numbers; here there are horizontal

coins with three pellets in three corners and six in the fourth, and vertical coins with three pellets in each corner (a coin of Beeston Tor vertical style is ill. pl. I, 20). Gravesend, with only one coin of Aelfred, contains a large number of horizontal coins with three pellets in each corner, and only one with six in the fourth; there are many vertical coins with three pellets in each corner, but more with three pellets in the bottom right-hand corner and no others. There is no issue of horizontal coins of type A with only three pellets—the horizontal die-cutter seems briefly to have experimented with no corner pellets—but all the coins of type D classifiable into horizontal and vertical have three pellets in the bottom right-hand corner and no others, if they have pellets. The exceptions, *BMC* 340 and *BMA* 147 of Hugerred, serve to prove the rule. Before the horizontal/vertical issues pellets are hardly found, and when they occur their distribution is irregular. There is also positive hoard evidence for the early date of the early group and horizontal/vertical D apart from their outnumbering by horizontal/vertical A in Gravesend; the Reading hoard, the Trewiddle hoard, and the hoard illustrated by Fountaine¹ from the collection of Dr. George Hickes, the pioneer of Anglo-Saxon studies, do not seem to have contained a single three-pellet-in-each-corner. Nor was Taylor Combe aware of more than one such, and a poor one at that²; the hoard circulating about 1800, of which Tyssen secured a parcel recognizable by patina, was composed mainly of coins of type D. These hoards containing what I would call earlier Burgreds did not contain coins of Aelfred (See, *contra* Blunt, *Archaeologia* XCVIII (1961), the statement in Hawkins, *English Silver Coins*, 1841, that the hoard from Trewiddle ended with Aethelred. Since the latest coins of Wessex, leaving aside the single coin of Aelfred lunette A, are coins of Aethelred's first, rare, type, the four-line lunette, Hawkins is probably right; the Aelfred coin can be disposed of by the impressive arguments Blunt deploys against the coin of Aelfred of late type by the moneyer Franbald).

A division of moneyers between these groups is now presented. There is a certain overlap from 'Middle'—i.e. pre-A horizontal/vertical—style to 'Late' (horizontal/vertical A), which is confusing; and the position of the moneyer Wine, which casts doubt on the chronology I present as well as on the role of the London mint, really deserves an article to itself. Suffice for the moment to say that Wine strikes coins for Aethelred of London style of type A, but strikes coins for Burgred of all types but A.

EARLY: Beranh A, Cenred CD, Cethellulf/Cethliaf C, Ciallaf ACD, Cunehelm C, Duda ACD, Dudda ACD, Dudecil ACD, Dudeman CD, Eanred AC, Framric C, Ethelulf CD, Liafman CD, Tata ACD, Tatel A, Wine BCD.

MIDDLE C and D: Berthelm D, Burghelm D, Cenred D, Cunehelm D, Diarulf D, Duda D, Dudda D, Dudeman D, Dudwine D, Ethelulf D, Heawulf CD, Hereferth D, Hugerred CD, Hussa CD, Huthere C, Liafman D, Ludig CD, Osmund D, Tata D, Wine D, Wulfear D.

MIDDLE A and LATE A, B, and C: Beagstan AB, Berheah A, Berhtelm A, Biornoth A, Cenred A, Cunehelm ABC, Cuthberht A, Cuthulf A, Dagelte/Dealge A, Dealinc A, Dela A (perhaps not a true coin, but Dealla is known for London-style Aethelreds), Denewald A, Diarulf ABC (the C coins might be Middle or home-made), Diga A, Duda A, Dudda AB, Dudwine A, Eadnoth A, Eadulf A, Eogulf A, Ethelheah A, Ethelstan A, Ethelulf AB, Guthere AC (the C coins unsatisfactory), Guthmund A, Heawulf A, Hereferth A, Hugerred A, Hussa A, Huthere A, Lefle A, Liafwald A, Lude A, Lulla AB, Osmund A, Tata A, Tidehelm A, Wulfear AB, Wulfred A.

¹ *Numismata Anglo-Saxonica*, &c., 1705, pub. in Hickes' *Thesaurus*, pl. III and p. 166.

² Cf. his plate of Burgred in Ruding.

How was the mint organized? I have taken a large group of coins definable enough to make statistics worthwhile. The coins of the Middle group are divisible into horizontal and vertical; the vertical coins are broadly one style, the horizontal of three. What is their relationship to one another? Can anything be said about mint organization? I list (i) all coins of types C and D that are not early, (ii) coins of type A that have at least one die of Middle date.

BEADED HORIZONTAL:

Beaded inner circle on obverse, beaded cross-bars on reverse. Bottom of T in ETA on the reverse invariably slopes to *right*. Obverse legend +BVRGRED REX. Drapery on chest two vertical bars surmounted by two horizontal bars or by one horizontal bar and three pellets. Two head-bands.

PLAIN HORIZONTAL:

Plain inner circle on obverse, plain cross-bars on reverse. Bottom of T in ETA invariably slopes to *left*. Obverse legend as above. Drapery usually two vertical bars surmounted by one horizontal bar, sometimes by two, never by pellets. One headband. The lines that define the shoulders are carried up to form the neck, and curl at the top. A different fount of lettering: the letter R is continuous instead of having a separate tail, the letter V is not a plain V, but has a wedge at the bottom of the V turning it into a Y.

PELLET HORIZONTAL:

Plain inner circle and cross-bars. Both pellet reverses (Ill. pl. I, 10, 11) have beaded cross-bars, not typical. Bottom of T to *left*. Obverse legend BVRGRED REX or BVRGRED RE M, hardly ever preceded by cross. Drapery one or two vertical bars under one horizontal. The feature that distinguishes this above all from Plain is the lettering; the letter V has a pellet underneath, not a wedge, and the general style is more impressionist, the R's having one firm stroke and only a L-shaped attachment to represent the rest of the letter. Another criterion: the hair tends to be represented by straight lines, not curls, and these have knobs at the ends. One head-band.

VERTICAL:

Beaded inner circle and cross-bars. Bottom of T *flat*. Obverse legend BVRGRED REX-, sometimes pellets after the dash. Drapery six pellets over three vertical bars. Different lettering, the V's plain V's, the M's with a curl forming the top and resting on top of the downstrokes of the M, not very elegant. One head-band. Immense nose and eye a circle without a pellet inside. Some coins have plain cross-bars on the reverse, and a habit of having the O of MON with four wedges, point inwards, attached on its sides; they also have the tops of the T and A of ETA composed of wedges. I cannot however produce a satisfactory criterion for locating obverse dies to go with these reverse dies, obverse dies with plain inner circles not forming a group. There are also coins with plain inner circles and cross-bars with a row of beading alongside on obverse and reverse, as if to make plain coins beaded.

MIDDLE COINS.

Reverse D:

BERTHELM	Pellet O.1 R.1 RCL.
BURGHMELM	Pellet O.1 R.1 BMA 137 ex Croydon (21-8).

- CENRED Beaded 0.7 R.6 *BMC* 183 ex Gravesend (19.8); *BMC* 184 ex Cureton (20.5); *BMC* 185 ex Southgate (20.7); *BMC* 186 ex Gravesend (16.0); RCL ex Ready; RCL ill. *BNJ* 1906; Ashmolean ex Waterloo Bridge ill. pl. I, 9, *obverse die* (18.8).
Plain 0.1 R.1 BM, close to Pellet.
Pellet 0.1 R.1 RCL.
Vertical R.1 Ashmolean *reverse die*.
- CUNEHHELM Plain 0.2 R.2 *BMC* 206 (21.0), *BMC* 207 (20.1), ex Gravesend, same *reverse die*; RCL *reverse die*.
Pellet 0.2 R.2 Ashmolean ex Gambier-Parry ill. pl. I, 10 (20.3); RCL.
Vertical 0.2 R.1 *BMC* 208 ex Gravesend (20.6) same *obverse die* as Hunter 372, rev. C; *BMC* 205 ex Gravesend (19.3) *obverse die*.
Unclassified 0.1 R.1 RCL *obverse die*; *BMC* 205 *reverse die*.
- DIARULF Beaded 0.2 R.2 *BMC* 221 before 1838 (20.0); *BMC* 223 ex Gravesend (22.5), same *obverse die* as *BMC* 222 before 1838 (20.1).
Plain 0.2 R.2 RCL; CEB *obverse die*; *BMC* 222 *reverse die*.
Vertical 0.3 R.4 *BMC* 220 ex Gravesend (21.3); BMA 140 fnd. Bury St. Edmunds (14.0); RCL; CEB *reverse die*, same as that of *BMC* 224 ex Tyssen (20.1).
Late A Vertical 0.1 *BMC* 224 *obverse die*.
- DUDA Plain 0.1 R.1 *BMC* 244 ex Gravesend (20.1), same *obverse die* as *BMC* 243 ex Gravesend (19.2).
Vertical 0.3 R.3 *BMC* 246 ex Gravesend (19.3); RCL; Baldwin.
Unclassified R.1 *BMC* 243 *reverse die*.
- DUDDA Plain R.1 BM *reverse die*.
Vertical 0.1 BM *obverse die*.
- DUDEMAN Plain 0.1 R.1 Baldwin.
Vertical 0.1 R.1 Baldwin.
- DUDWINE Vertical 0.2 R.3 *BMC* 268 before 1838 (19.3); BM; RCL *reverse die*.
Late A Vertical 0.1 RCL *obverse die*.
- ETHELULF Plain 0.5 R.7 *BMC* 299 ex Gravesend (22.0), same *obverse die* as HEP; CEB; CEB; CEB; Copenhagen 71 ex Serrure (17.7), same *obverse die* as HEP.
Vertical 0.1 R.1 BMA 144 ex Hasluck (21.3).
- HEAWULF Beaded 0.2 R.2 *BMC* 319 ex Gravesend (21.2); *BMC* 320 ex Gravesend (20.0), same *obverse die* as *BMC* 318, rev. C.
Late A Vertical 0.1 RCL ill. *BNJ* 1906, No. 5 on plate, *obverse die*.
Unclassified R.1 RCL *reverse die*.
- HEREFERTII Beaded 0.1 R.1 *BMC* 325 ex Gravesend (18.0), *die duplicate* of CEB.
Plain 0.3 R.4 *BMC* 326 before 1838 (18.2); *BMC* 327 ex Abdy (20.2); RCL; *BMC* 323 ex Gravesend (19.5), *reverse die*.
Pellet 0.2 R.1 *BMC* 324 ex Gravesend (21.0); *BMC* 323 *obverse die*.
- HUGERED Beaded 0.5 R.5 *BMC* 335 ex Gravesend (18.9), *die duplicate* of RCL; BMA 147 ex Croydon (20.8) is from the same *obverse die*; *BMC* 336 ex Tyssen (16.8); *BMC* 337 ex Gravesend (19.5) same *obverse die* as *BMC* 329, 330, rev. A; *BMC* 338 ex Gravesend (20.0) *obverse die*; *BMC* 340 ex Gravesend (20.5), same *obverse die* as Fitzwilliam 426 before 1909 (21.3) and Nottingham Castle Museum, rev. A. *BMC* 335 is ill. pl. I, 12.
Pellet 0.4 R.5 *BMC* 334 ex Gravesend (20.0), *die duplicate* of RCL and JCA; Copenhagen 74 ex Gartz (21.0); BM Forgeries ex T. Cannon Brookes (19.9); Baldwin; Fitzwilliam 426 *reverse die*. *BMC* 334 is ill. pl. I, 11.
Vertical 0.1 R.2 *BMC* 339 ex Gravesend (21.8); *BMC* 338 *reverse die*.
- HUSSA Beaded 0.3 R.4 *BMC* 350 before 1838 (20.0); BMA 148 ex Croydon (20.7); Baldwin; *BMC* 348 ex Gravesend (20.7) *reverse die*.
Plain 0.2 R.3 Copenhagen 667 ex ? Crowther (22.7); RCL *obverse die*; *BMC* 347 ex Gravesend (20.2) *reverse die*; Baldwin *reverse die*.

- Pellet O.1 R.1 RCL *die-duplicate* of CEB.
 Vertical O.6 R.4 *BMC* ex Southgate (19.0); *BMC* 351 ex Gravesend (20.5); RCL ill. *BNJ* 1906; *BMC* 347 *obverse die*; *BMC* 348 *obverse die*; Baldwin *obverse die*, same as *BMC* 346, rev. C; RCL *reverse die*.
- LIAFMAN Vertical O.2 R.2 AEB ill. *BNJ* 1906; RCL prob. ex Rashleigh 69 and Trewiddle (patina).
- LUDIG Plain O.1 R.1 *BMC* 360 ex Gravesend (19.8).
- OSMUND Beaded O.1 R.1 BM.
 Plain O.6 R.6 *BMC* 371 ex Gravesend (22.5); *BMC* 372 ex Gravesend (22.6); *BMC* 373 before 1838 (20.7); RCL (*obverse* close to Pellet); CEB; Hunter 378 before 1783 (20.7).
 Vertical O.1 R.1 *BMC* 370 ex Gravesend (23.0).
- TATA Beaded O.1 R.1 BMA 150 ex Croydon (16.0).
 Plain R.1 *BMC* 384 before 1838 *reverse die*.
 Vertical O.5 R.6 *BMC* 380 ex Gravesend (21.5); *BMC* 381 ex Southgate (21.5), same *obverse die* as RCL, ill. *BNJ* 1906; *BMC* 382 ex Gravesend; *BMC* 383 ex Gravesend; Baldwin.
 Late A Vertical O.1 *BMC* 384 *obverse die*.
- WINE Vertical O.2 R.2 *BMC* 392 ex Gravesend (20.8); RCL.
- WULFEARD Beaded O.3 R.5 *BMC* 398 before 1838 (15.8); *BMC* 402 ex Gravesend (21.2), same *obverse die*; *BMC* 400 ex Gravesend (20.0); RCL; BM *reverse die*.
 Plain O.2 R.2 RCL, same *obverse die* as BM; RCL.
 Pellet O.5 R.5 *BMC* 399 ex Gravesend (21.0); *BMC* 401 ex Sloane (17.9); Hunter 380 ex Coats (19.3); Fitzwilliam 427 ex PWCB 291 (21.3); Copenhagen 80 ex Serrure (23.9).
- Reverse B:
 DIARULF Beaded O.1 *BMC* 216 ex Tyssen (20.0) *obverse die*.
 Sub-Beaded R.1 *BMC* 216 *reverse die*.
- Reverse C:
 CUNEHMELM Vertical O.2 R.2 Hunter 372 before 1783 (17.5), same *obverse die* as *BMC* 208, rev. D; *BMC* 202 ex Gravesend (19.8).
 Late A Vertical O.2 *BMC* 201 ex Gravesend (18.6) *obverse die*; CEB *obverse die*;
 Late A Horizontal O.1 R.1 *BMC* 204 ex Gravesend (21.3).
 Unclassified R.2 *BMC* 201 *reverse die*; CEB *reverse die*.
- DIARULF Beaded O.2 R.2 *BMC* 219 ex Cureton (18.1); RCL ex Ready.
 Plain O.1 R.1 RCL.
 Sub-Beaded (? Late) O.3 R.5 *BMC* 217 ex Gravesend (18.4); *BMC* 218 ex Gravesend (19.2) same *obverse die*; Hunter 373 before 1783 (18.9), same *obverse die*; CCC Cambridge ex Croydon (18.8); Copenhagen 67 ex Serrure (22.2).
- DUDDA Pellet (or a relation) O.1 R.1 *BMC* 237 before 1838 (21.1).
- ETHELULF Vertical O.2 *BMC* 295 ex Gravesend (19.5) *obverse die*; *BMC* 296 ex Gravesend (20.2) *obverse die*. Neither far removed from Late A Vertical.
- GUTHRE Sub-Pellet (very) O.1 R.1 *BMC* 309 ex Gravesend (17.6).
 Late A Horizontal O.1 R.1 *BMC* 310 ex Gravesend (18.8).
- HEAWULF Beaded O.1 R.1 *BMC* 318 ex Gravesend (19.9), same *obverse die* as *BMC* 320, rev. D.
- HUGERD Beaded R.2 *BMC* 333 ex Gravesend (21.5) *reverse die*; RCL (and *die-duplicate* CEB) *reverse die*.
 Plain O.2 R.2 *BMC* 332 ex Gravesend (19.7); *BMC* 333 same *obverse die*; RCL/CEB same *obverse die*; Baldwin find. Northumberland Avenue before 1889.

¹ It may no longer exist.

HUSSA	Beaded R.1 <i>BMC</i> 346 ex Gravesend (20-7) <i>reverse die</i> . Plain O.1 R.1 RCL. Vertical O.1 <i>BMC</i> 346 <i>obverse die</i> , same as Baldwin, rev. 1)
HUTHERE	Beaded O.1 R.1 <i>BMC</i> 354 ex Gravesend (21-8).
LIAFMAN	Vertical O.1 R.1 CEB ex Trowhiddle.
LUDIG	Beaded R.1 <i>BMC</i> 359 ex Gravesend (20-7) <i>reverse die</i> . Late A Vertical O.1 <i>BMC</i> 359 <i>obverse die</i> .
TATA	Vertical O.5 R.4 (all from odd dies) <i>BMC</i> 376 ex Gravesend (20-6); <i>BMC</i> 377 ex Gravesend (19-8); <i>BMC</i> 378 ex Gravesend (22-3); <i>BMC</i> 379 ex Gravesend (21-5); Ashmolean ex Browne Willis (21-9), ill. pl. I, 7, same <i>reverse die</i> .

Reverse A:

BERHEAH	Vertical O.2 (neither classic) <i>BMC</i> 160 ex Gravesend (22-0) <i>obverse die</i> ; CEB <i>obverse die</i> . Late A Vertical R.2 <i>BMC</i> 160 <i>reverse die</i> ; CEB <i>reverse die</i> .
BERTHELM	Pellet O.1 R.1 RCL.
CENRED	Pellet O.2 R.2 <i>BMC</i> 173 ex Gravesend (22-0); <i>BMC</i> 175 ex Gravesend (19-7).
CUNEHMEL	Plain O.1 <i>BMC</i> 195 before 1838 (20-1) <i>obverse die</i> . Vertical O.1 RCL <i>obverse die</i> . Late A Vertical R.1 RCL <i>reverse die</i> . Unclassified O.1 R.2 RCL (Middle, but indefinable); <i>BMC</i> 195 <i>reverse die</i> .
DIARULF	Pellet O.1 R.1 <i>BMC</i> 214 ex Gravesend (20-8). A most interesting <i>obverse die</i> , with head and legend of Pellet style, but shoulders and drapery of Late A Vertical, as if the die-cutter changed in the middle.
DIGA	Plain O.2 R.2 RCL; Hunter 365 before 1783 (20-8). Vertical O.1 R.1 BM. Pellet O.1 <i>BMC</i> 227 ex Gravesend (21-2) <i>obverse die</i> . Late A Vertical R.1 <i>BMC</i> 227 <i>reverse die</i> .
DUDDA	Pellet and Sub-Pellet O.5 R. 4 <i>BMC</i> 231 ex Gravesend (19-9); <i>BMC</i> 232 ex Gravesend (20-0); <i>BMC</i> 233 ex Gravesend (19-3); <i>BMC</i> 234 ex Gravesend (19-6); Baldwin <i>obverse die</i> . Late A Horizontal R.1 Baldwin <i>reverse die</i> .
DUDWINE	Vertical O.1 (not classic) <i>BMC</i> 260 ex Cotton (18-0) <i>obverse die</i> . Late A Vertical R.1 <i>BMC</i> 260 <i>reverse die</i> .
EADNOTH	Sub-Pellet O.1 R.1 <i>BMC</i> 270 ex Gravesend (20-8).
GUTHERE	Pellet and Sub-Pellet O.6 R.5 <i>BMC</i> 301 ex Gravesend (19-8); <i>BMC</i> 302 ex Gravesend (20-6); <i>BMC</i> 303 before 1838 (20-7); <i>BMC</i> 304 ex Gravesend (18-5) <i>obverse die</i> ; BM ex Beeston Tor (21-2); Edinburgh ex Talnotrie. Late A Vertical R.1 <i>BMC</i> 304 <i>reverse die</i> .
HEAWULF	Pellet O.1 R.1 <i>BMC</i> 317 ex Gravesend (20-3).
HEREFERTH	Pellet O.2 R.1 <i>BMC</i> 322 ex Gravesend (21-2) <i>obverse die</i> ; BMA 146 ex Croydon (17-5). Late A Vertical R.1 <i>BMC</i> 322 <i>reverse die</i> .
HUGERED	Beaded O.3 R.3 <i>BMC</i> 329 ex Southgate (17-7) same <i>obverse die</i> as <i>BMC</i> 330 ex Gravesend (18-2), and <i>BMC</i> 337, rev. D (Order of striking appears to be 329; 337; 330); Nottingham Castle Museum ex Waterloo Bridge (19-0) <i>obverse die</i> , same as <i>BMC</i> 340, rev. D; RCL. Plain O.1 R.1 <i>BMC</i> 331 ex Gravesend (20-3). Pellet O.2 R.2 <i>BMC</i> 328 ex Gravesend (19-0); RCL. The dies of <i>BMC</i> 328 are regular; a similar coin is illustrated in the MS account of the Reading hoard. Late A Vertical R.1 Nottingham <i>reverse die</i> .
HUSSA	Beaded O.1 BM ex Beeston Tor (22-4) <i>obverse die</i> . Pellet O.1 R.2 <i>BMC</i> 344 before 1838 (19-3); BM ex Beeston Tor <i>reverse die</i> .
HUTHERE	Pellet O.2 R.2 <i>BMC</i> 352 ex Gravesend (19-5); <i>BMC</i> 353 ex Gravesend (20-9).

Pellet O.3 R.2 Fitzwilliam 418 ex Babington (19.4); Baldwin find. Westminster Bridge; Baldwin *obverse die*. (The only evidence for the Westminster Bridge find, as distinct from the Waterloo Bridge find, are the tickets written by Lord Grantley for coins purchased from Vienweg in 1895. Which is not very promising evidence. But to accept the identity of the finds I require explanation (a) of a differing patina, heavy green verdigris on Westminster Bridge coins, very little verdigris on Waterloo Bridge (b) the un-representativeness of C-B's plate in *BNJ* 1906 if the Westminster Bridge coins came from Waterloo Bridge. On the whole the Westminster Bridge coins are post-Gravesend in date. The subject of London hoards of Burgred can be illuminated with profit; note *ad interim* that the best account of the discovery of Waterloo Bridge is given by W. J. Andrew in a paper on the coins of Stephen *BNJ* 1911 p. 102).

Late A Vertical R.1 Baldwin *reverse die*.

I think these lists show something of the insane complexity of the coinage of Burgred. A good deal of difference exists within the groups defined here. What conclusions about chronology can be drawn? A major re-organization when type D came in is apparent from the absence of mules between 'Early' obverse dies and 'Middle' reverse dies, and the probable absence of the opposite die-combination. It also appears that Pellet, heavily muled with Late A Vertical A reverses, represents the Horizontal issue contemporaneous to Three-pellet reverse Vertical; I have already pointed out the absence of Three-pellet reverse Horizontal coins. Working back from this pair, the obvious predecessors of it are Vertical D, which is Beaded, and Beaded Horizontal D, a pattern which leaves no place for Plain. Plain reverses are stylistically linked to Early reverses, so a case can be made for dating Plain in general, in spite of its Middle/Late eyes, before the reorganization. Equally, though, Pellet reverses are akin to Plain, it being difficult to tell the difference between them when the moneyer's name does not contain the letter τ , e.g. Hereferth and Osmund (who spells his name OSMHND).

When definite examples are broken down into styles rather than types, the number of dies of each style is curiously similar: figures refer to the number of obverse and reverse dies.

PLAIN. Cunehelm 3 + 2, Diarulf 3 + 3, Diga 2 + 2, Duda 1 + 1, Dudda 0 + 1, Dudeman 1 + 1, Ethelulf 5 + 8, Hereferth 3 + 4, Hugerred 3 + 3, Hussa 3 + 4, Ludig 1 + 1, Osmund 6 + 6, Tata 0 + 1, Wulfear 2 + 2 14 : 33 + 39.

BEADED. Cenred 7 + 6, Diarulf 5 + 4, Heawulf 2 + 3, Hereferth 1 + 1, Hugerred 6 + 10, Hussa 4 + 5, Huthere 1 + 1, Ludig 0 + 1, Osmund 1 + 1, Tata 1 + 1, Wulfear 3 + 5. 11 : 31 + 38

PELLET. Berthelm 2 + 2, Burghelm 1 + 1, Cenred 3 + 3, Cunehelm 2 + 2, Diarulf 1 + 1, Diga 1 + 0, Dudda 1 + 1 (say), Guthere 3 + 2, Heawulf 1 + 1, Hereferth 4 + 2, Hugerred 6 + 7, Hussa 2 + 3, Huthere 2 + 2, Osmund 3 + 2, Wulfear 5 + 5. 14 : 37 + 34.

VERTICAL. Cenred 0 + 1, Cunehelm 4 + 3, Diarulf 3 + 4, Diga 1 + 1, Duda 3 + 3, Dudda 1 + 0, Dudeman 1 + 1, Dudwine 2 + 3, Ethelwulf 1 + 1, Hugerred 1 + 2, Hussa 6 + 4, Liafman 3 + 3, Osmund 1 + 1, Tata 5 + 6, Wine 2 + 2. 15 : 34 + 35.

Total moneyers: 23 Obverse dies: 135 reverse dies: 146.

Allowing for a possible transfer of some Plain reverses to Pellet the relation of obverse to reverse is very nearly 1 : 1, with a slight balance but no more in favour of reverse. A 1 : 2 pattern is not possible.

There is at first sight little consistency in receipt of dies by an individual moneyer either in number or source. The commoner Horizontal moneyers, Cenred, Hugerred, Hussa and Wulfear, are all except for Wulfear represented in Vertical, in which Hussa is known for more obverse dies than any other. Scrutiny outside Middle confirms the picture. Hereferth, unknown for Vertical here, is known in Late A only for Vertical; the next known coins of

Wulfear after Pellet are Late A Vertical with three-pellet-in-each-corner reverses. *BMC* 214, moneyer Diarulf, shows Horizontal and Vertical features on the same die.

So if there are two die-schools involved, they catered for all the moneyers, and both schools supplied a moneyer more or less at the same time. To ensure that each moneyer produced his proper share of the coinage, a central control must have regulated the supply of dies, which indicates that there can have been no great physical separation between the establishments. Attempts to create two die-schools at the same mint have failed in the past (notably in reference to the Canterbury mint under Aethelwulf, *Anglo-Saxon Coins* ed. R. H. M. Dolley, p. 63 ff., and the question of regional styles under the 11th century kings), chiefly because there has proved in practice to be no connection between the series involved. Here the theory might founder because of the overpowering amount of die-links and mules connecting Horizontal and Vertical. I would accept a single die-cutting establishment with two engravers, a not impossible solution, and supported by *BMC* 214, were it not (a) for doubts whether the consistent stylistic differences over at least six years are explicable in this way, (b) for the question of Cenred.

Consider what Cenred is responsible for. In the Middle group he uses 10+9 Horizontal dies, leaving out the one Sub-Plain coin, and 0+1 Vertical dies; in Late, 13+13 Horizontal; in Early, if the 'Viking' style represents Vertical, all his coins are Horizontal. He is also responsible for two Horizontal coins (2+2) of variety E, Middle date. For Aelfred he strikes a Two Emperors coin from Horizontal dies. He is the only moneyer striking both Middle and Late who is not known for Late A Vertical; indeed, all his colleagues except Guthere are commoner in Late A Vertical than in any horizontal type. It is at least *prima facie* probable that his relationship with the Horizontal die-cutter was close; and for this we have a further piece of evidence. His dies are completely regular, but the reverses are frequently differentiated by commas in the corners of the lunettes instead of pellets, indicating a personal say in the production of the dies. Did any other moneyers owe an allegiance to a die-school? I think the answer is Yes, although no one else has quite the same record. Berheah and Diga have idiosyncratic reverse pellet arrangements and are strongly Vertical in their sympathies; Wine looks like his own master; Cunehelm also, but both Cunehelm and Wine are moneyers independent of the main organization. Liafwald is strongly Horizontal under Burgred, but as firmly Vertical under Ceolwulf II. Worth a glance is the existence of Canterbury Six-Pellet reverse dies for Cenred and Eanred alone of the London moneyers—singled out as the most important? Eanred's coins are stylistically identical with those of his contemporaries, yet differ in that they are regularly of reverse type A.

None of this goes anywhere near an explanation of why there are so many sub-groups in a coinage that lasted so short a time.¹ It may be that there are sub-groups at Canterbury, but on the face of it all Canterbury coins of Lunette style fall into an Aethelred group and an Aelfred group which are not subdivided.² It might be thought that the organization of

¹ Of the coins ill. on pl. I, which have not already been mentioned, 13 is a Berheah with individual pellet arrangement, 14 a reputable Late A Horizontal, 15, 16, 24, 23 normal Late A Vertical with serified letters, 18, 20, and 24 a late phase without serifs; 19 a Late A Horizontal with broad shoulders, 21 the same bust and a reverse of the same style (note the pellets actually on the corners of the lunettes) but with no corner pellets, 17 is a very late Horizontal coin, perhaps issued as late as

873, akin to those of Ceolwulf II.

² Dolley's second die-school for Aethelwulf at Canterbury is in fact the Rochester mint. His case rested on the assumption (now proved wrong) that the Rochester mint was a one-moneyer establishment. DORIBI/CANT coins of Rochester style are explicable if DORIBI is DOROBREBIA abbreviated. Mr. C. S. S. Lyon will, I hope, soon expound this solution (his) in print.

Burgred is analogous to that of Aelfred after 886, but in the latter case stylistic groups are related to different sets of moneyers. Clearly it is only by the accumulation of more material and the detailed investigation of hoards like Croydon and Waterloo by criteria other than lunette variety that progress is going to be made. If there is one fact that emerges, it is the comparative unimportance of lunette variety. Basically coins of C are early, D are middle, A are late; but rules are never kept. Types B and E are respectively a variety of Late A Vertical three-pellets-in-each-corner, and a cross between Plain and Pellet Horizontal (Middle). They are no more important than interesting stylistic groups like the 'Framric' variety of Early—four coins, moneyers Framric (*BMC* 300, only coin known for him, ex Southgate, 18.2), Dudda (*BMC* 236 ex Gravesend, 22.8, and *die duplicate* RCL), ill. pl. I, 4, and Wine (RCL), as handsome as anything produced at Canterbury.

I would like to express my thanks to all those who have made available to me coins of Burgred, whether in the flesh or by photograph; and to Mr. J. C. Allen, of Lewes, for considerable advice and criticism.

J.C.A.:	J. C. Allen, Esq.
A.E.B.:	A. E. Bagnall, Esq. (collection dispersed 1964).
Baldwin:	A. H. Baldwin & Sons (1965).
C.E.B.:	C. E. Blunt, Esq.
C.C.C. Cambridge:	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (S. S. Lewis collection, ill. <i>BNJ</i> 1961).
Copenhagen:	Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, the Royal Danish collection. Ancient British and Anglo-Saxon Coins, part I, by Georg Galster, 1964.
Fitzwilliam:	Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, part I. Ancient British and Anglo-Saxon Coins, by Philip Grierson, 1958.
Hunter:	Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, Hunterian and Coats collections, University of Glasgow, part I. Anglo-Saxon Coins, by Anne S. Robertson, 1961.
R.C.L.:	The late R. C. Lockett, Esq. (A photographic record exists of his coins of Burgred)
H.E.P.:	The author's collection.
B.N.J.	Plate illustrating Nathan Heywood's article on the coinage of Burgred in <i>BNJ</i> 1906. The coins for it were supplied by P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton and were mainly from the Waterloo Bridge hoard.

APPENDIX A: LONDON AFTER 874

(a) The corpus of Ceolwulf II given by Mr. Dolley in *BNJ* 1963, pp. 88–90, is a salutary reminder that the London mint continued to operate. Of his six moneyers, four are known for Burgred's last issues, one, Dudecil, only being known for Early coins of Burgred and perhaps being a different person; the remaining moneyer Dunna is new. (Note: Cuthulf is now known for Late A Horizontal Six-pellets-in-fourth-corner, London Museum ex Wandsworth find). Four other Burgred moneyers (Cenred, Guthere, Hereferth, and Lulla) are known for contemporary coins of Aelfred struck at the London mint. Five or six more are not known for *BMC* V but are known for the 'Guthrum' type. None of this suggests a major break in continuity caused by Viking occupation. An argument *ex silentio* from the absence of the signature of the Bishop of London from Ceolwulf's charters seems to lie behind assumptions of Viking occupation. This is not valid. Charters of Berhtwulf and Burgred signed by more than one bishop are signed in these proportions: Worcester 21; Lichfield 20; Lindsey 17; Hereford 16; Leicester 14. The bishop of London never signs.

(b) Why if London was a one-moneyer mint during 'LONDONIA monogram' do the old Burgred moneyers Beagstan, Cuthberht, Heawulf, Hereferth, Ludig, and others recur after this in the 'Guthrum' type? I think we should be chary of accepting the absence of the moneyer's name on the bulk of these coins as an indication that Tilewine only was at work, especially since there exist 'monogram' coins with the names Aelfstan and Heawulf, not dissimilar to some of the Burgred moneyers 'Guthrum' coins in lettering.

(c) There is a belief that between 880 and 885 English coinage consisted of the Two Emperors issue, the Archbishop Aethered issue, and the Quatrefoil issue. Four and a half coins are known of the three together. I am reluctant to admit the late date of the first and the substantive nature of the others. If *BMC* V is preceded by Two Emperors (which is stylistically probable), between 880 and 885 there would be no coinage at all from London, since Archbishop Aethered and Quatrefoil are so far only known of Canterbury. Why not extend the issue of *BMC* V right up to 886? We have only an embroidery by Florence of Worcester to indicate that the Vikings were in possession of London between Ceolwulf's death and Aelfred's seizure of the city. The carry-over of Burgred moneyers to the 'Guthrum' type should again indicate continuity of production. Once this dating is accepted the situation at Canterbury falls into line. The significant feature of the two coins of the Archbishop Aethered type is that though one is of Aelfred and one of the Archbishop, both are struck by the same moneyer. The correct inference from this is surely that he is the only moneyer of the type, and that it is therefore not substantive. Moreover, the affinities of style and lettering are with Lunette rather than *BMC* V or 'Guthrum'.

APPENDIX B: THE MOUTH

One of the principal criteria adduced for the separation of the coins of Burgred into die-schools is the representation of the mouth, on Vertical coins by two wedges with the pointed end outwards, on Horizontal coins by two wedges with the pointed end inwards. This does not exhaust the usefulness of the 'mouth-test'. All Canterbury coins of lunette types have a mouth composed of two semi-circular 'lips', the straight sides to the middle, and positioned so that the upper semi-circle is slightly to the right of the lower. And since this is not a detail that the forger, and more important the irregular die-cutter, would take care of, the potential value of it for distinguishing die-cutters is immense. For instance, the general habit from 796-830 was to use two wedges, points inwards; sometimes two straight lines were used, but it is difficult always to separate this on photographs. A visible divergence comes at the 'East Anglian' mint, where a count of coins with a mouth indicated by two pellets reveals:

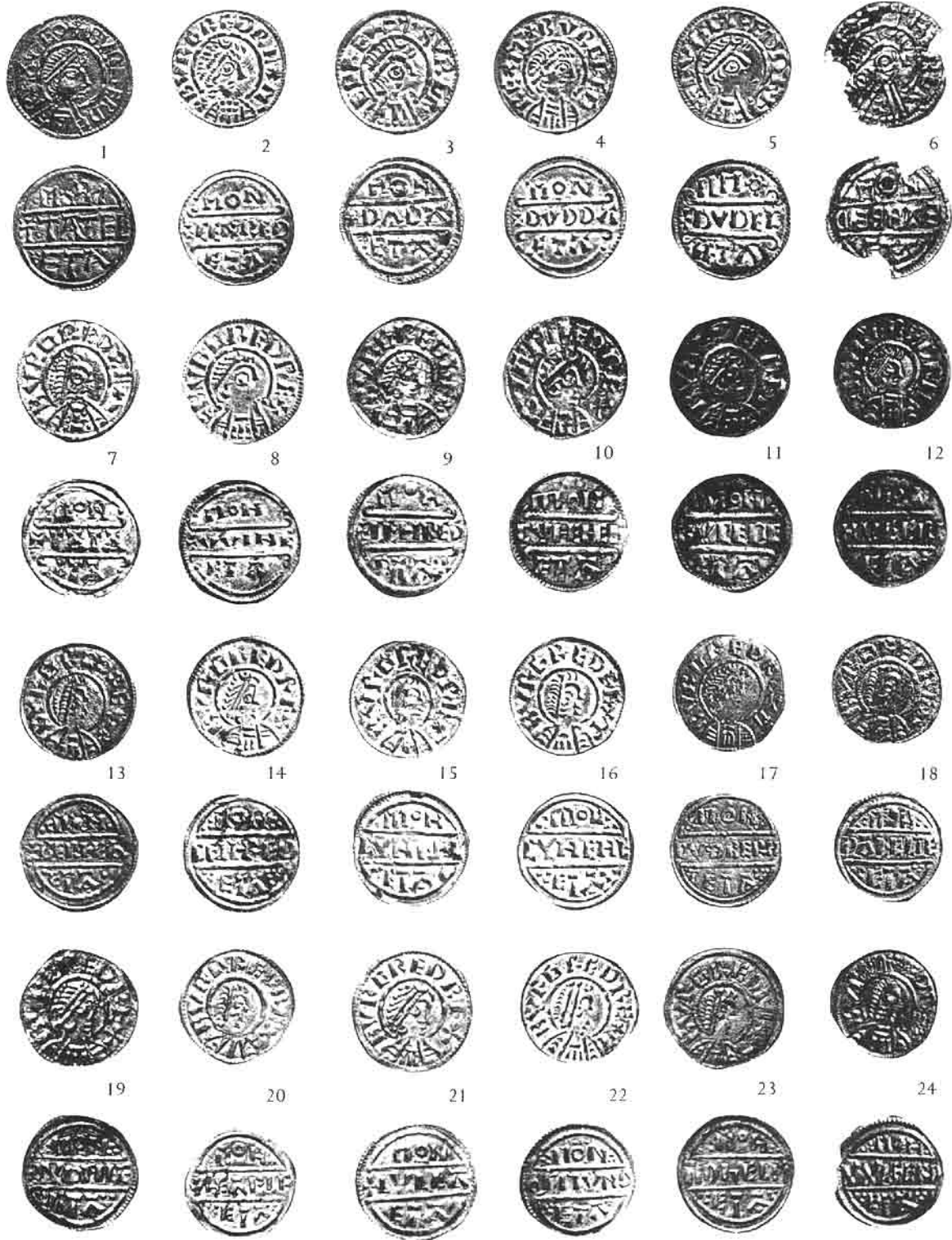
COENWULF: Hereberht, Wihtred, Woddol.

CEOLWULF: Eadgar, Wihtred.

BEORNWULF: Eadgar, Werbald.

LUDICA: Werbald.

Not that this is a chronological group, just interesting in that it is the only pellet-mouth group in the 9th century, and so presumably the product of a single hand. On the sceatta coinage of the 8th century a pellet-mouth is the normal mouth.



RALPH THORESBY'S RUNIC COINS

By R. I. PAGE

NUMISMATISTS and runologists have long known that among the early coins in the collection of the Leeds antiquary, Ralph Thoresby, was one with a runic inscription. This, one of Sveinn Estridsson's Lund coins by the moneyer Thorgot (Mø. 98 in L. Jacobsen and E. Moltke, *Danmarks Runeindskrifter* (København, 1941-2): type 204 in E. Moltke, 'De danske Runemønter og deres Prægere', *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* (1950), 26), was identified as runic by William Nicolson, the celebrated antiquary, historian, collector and divine, then Archdeacon of Carlisle. On 17 April 1691 Thoresby seems to have written to Nicolson, suggesting that they should correspond, and asking him specific questions on antiquarian subjects, one of which suggested that he had a runic coin in his collection.¹ Thoresby's letter does not survive, but Nicolson's acknowledgment, dated 27 April, is among the Thoresby correspondence in the library of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society.² Nicolson writes:

'I never saw any coin with a *Runic* Inscription. M^r Walker (in his preface to K. Alfred's life) has given us the draught of three, which he once took to be of y^t nature: but he doubts they may be eastern coins; and he had good reason to do so. I have seen (in some Musæa in Germany) several pieces of Persian & other East-Country coins mistaken for Runic ones: and possibly some of yours may be of the like stamp'.

Thoresby sent the Lund coin together with others to Nicolson in August 1691. They were returned the following month, as Nicolson reveals in a letter to Thoresby dated 9 September. He adds 'I have given you my thoughts of *your Coins*; which (especially on that with the *Runic Characters*) I hope will be grateful.' Nicolson's report on the coin does not accompany this letter, which is also in the keeping of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society,³ but a holograph copy of it, made for a third person, perhaps George Hickes, is now MS Eng. Hist. b.2, fos. 266-7 in the Bodleian Library. Nicolson's report is headed 'Notes on a Runic coin in y^e possession of M^r Thoresby of Leeds, & communicated to W. N. Aug. 1691.' In it he comments:

'I much doubted whether the Inscription on this coin were truly Runic till I saw it. The Reason of my doubt was, because the best of the Danish Antiquaries are of opinion that no current coin was ever minted in the Northern Kingdoms till the use of the Runic Character was laid aside.'

Nicolson identifies the coin as an amulet, and the obverse figure as that of the 'antient God Thor . . . *Caput flammâ circumdatum* . . .' He gives a drawing of both sides of the coin, with the runic inscription accurately reproduced save that in place of the Roman letter s added after the place-name form *lunti* he draws the runic 's', and transliterates the runes: *Thur gut luetis. i.e. Thoronis Dei facies seu effigies*, with the comment, 'I never yet saw any

¹ In his review of his life (J. Hunter, *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby, F.R.S.* . . . (London, 1830), I, p. 196) Thoresby states that this correspondence began in 1690, a date which would include the first three months of 1691. Thoresby is probably in error here: his statement was made, or at least edited, after 1702 when Nicolson became Bishop of Carlisle.

² No. 154 n in H. W. Jones's unpublished handlist

to the Thoresby correspondence in the library of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

³ Jones 158, printed in W. T. Lancaster, *Letters addressed to Ralph Thoresby F.R.S.* (Leeds, 1912) Publications of the Thoresby Society, XXI, pp. 22-3. Also in J. Nichols, *Letters on various subjects . . . to and from William Nicolson* . . . (London, 1809), no. 13, where it is wrongly headed 'To Mr. Gibson'.

Runic Inscription so plain and Intelligible.' This note of Nicolson's is the basis of the first detailed published account of the coin, that in cols. 814-15 of Gibson's revision of Camden's *Britannia*, which came out in 1695. Thoresby accepted Nicolson's reading. Among his manuscripts kept in a leather-bound volume in the library of Leeds Grammar School is 'A Catalogue of the Saxon Coines in my Collection.' The runic coin is no. 29, described as having 'a rude figure of the Idol Thor caput flamma circumdatum', the last five words added over an obliterated original. Thoresby originally continued, 'but y^e Letters are absolutely Ruinick (*sic*) as I conjecture', to which he later added with acknowledgment Nicolson's interpretation of the runes.

In 1693 Thoresby sent this coin and a number of others to Obadiah Walker (the Mr Walker of Nicolson's letter of April 1691), the ejected Master of University College, Oxford, who was then preparing his description of early British and English coinage for Gibson's *Britannia*. Thoresby spent part of 15 August 'taking account of the ancient coins and medals (above one hundred British, Roman, Runic, Saxon, &c.) sent to the editors of Camden', and two days later wrote to Walker about them.¹ Receipt of the coins was acknowledged later that month, and they were kept, apparently very carelessly, by Walker until May 1694, when those that remained were returned to their owner.² On this examination depend the reproduction of the Lund coin as no. 34 of Tabula II (*Nummi Britannici*) of Gibson's *Britannia* and Walker's brief reference to it in col. xcvi of that work.

The coin legend was further studied by Hickes early in the following century. Two letters, dated 14 August and 10 October 1701, from Hickes to Thoresby confirm Nicolson's translation but give an alternative explanation.³ Hickes comments (adding a mass of philological explication):

'I told you, y^t I thought þur gut Luetis written in Runic characters upon your Cimbric, or old Danish coin signified *Thor deus populi*, or *Thor nationis deus*, and not *Thori dei facies*, as the worthy, and learned Archdeacon explained the words.'

In November 1703 Thoresby sent this coin to Hickes for examination. The Leeds Grammar School volume contains 'A list of my Saxon Coyns sent up to S^r Andrew Fountain & D^r Hickes to be inserted in his work': item 80 is 'the Amulet of y^e God Thor Tab. II. 34 & p. 814 of y^e new Brit^t'. Sir Andrew Fountaine's illustration of the coin and interpretation of its legend in *Numismata Anglo-Saxonica & Anglo-Danica breviter illustrata* (Oxford, 1705), p. 165, one of the parts of book I of Hickes's *Thesaurus*, derives from this examination. The study of this and related coins in the eighteenth century can be followed further in G. Galster, 'Runemøntforskning i det 18. Aarhundrede', *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift* (1941), 121-34.⁵

In Thoresby's *Musæum Thoresbyanum*, a catalogue of his collection printed in 1713 and appended to *Ducatus Leodiensis* (London, 1715), the Lund runic coin appears as no. 18 of the 'British, Runic, Saxon and Danish Medals', with the following comment on Walker's identification of the runes, 'Mr. O.W. indeed miscalls all the unintelligible and *Exotic* Characters

¹ *Diary*, I, p. 235. See also *Letters of eminent men, addressed to Ralph Thoresby, F.R.S.* (London, 1832), I, pp. 139-40.

² *Letters addressed to Ralph Thoresby*, pp. 31-2.

³ Jones 684, 701, the first printed in *Letters addressed to Ralph Thoresby*, pp. 103-4. A further letter, Jones 697, dated 28 September, also mentions the runic coin without giving details.

⁴ In a letter to Lhuys dated 25 November 1703 (Bodleian MS Ashmole 1817b, fo. 150) Thoresby refers to his dispatch of these coins 'a few days ago'. See also *Diary*, I, p. 447.

⁵ Reprinted as 'Research into runic coins in the 18th century', *Coins and History* (Copenhagen, 1959), pp. 53-64.

Runic. But this *single Medal* is the only one known to be in any *Musæum* in *Europe*, with the true *Runic* Letters upon it.' As Galster has shown, there were by 1713 Danish runic coins in other European collections, but the surprising thing about Thoresby's pronouncement is that it shows his ignorance of the fact that two more runic coins rested in his own cabinet. It is true that Walker's identification of runes was sometimes erratic, as when he found them on three probably Gaulish staters (nos. 27, 28 and 29 of Gibson's *Tabula II*, presumably the same coins as Walker had chosen for *Tabula VII* of Spelman's *Ælfredi Magni Anglorum Regis . . . Vita . . .* (Oxford, 1678), to which Nicolson drew Thoresby's attention). These Walker had whimsically attributed to 'some of the kings of Cumberland, in which County are still extant some Runic Monuments'. But he was correct in identifying as runic the legends of two other coins in Thoresby's collection, nos. 35 and 36 of Gibson's *Tabula II*, while being wrong in his belief that these runes were 'the writing of the *Visi*, or *Western Goths*', who 'acquired the Northern Parts of Britain, keeping (as it seemeth) their ancient Runic characters.' In fact the coins are Anglo-Saxon *sceattas*. No. 35 is one of the common *Epa* coins. No. 36 is a rare type, one of the *sceattas* with the reverse legend *Æpiliræd*, cut in two lines (divided at the end of the first element), boustrophedon, the second line inverted. I have records of nine of these coins. Seven have the reading 'æpili | ræd'. Two of these are in the Ashmolean Museum, one unprovenanced, the other, with a retrograde legend, from Canterbury (Evans Bequest 1941). A third example, found at Domburg on the island of Walcheren, Netherlands, was formerly in the de Man collection but its present whereabouts are unknown.¹ Two more were in the Grantley collection: sale catalogue no. 749 ex Montagu 174 and Shepherd 10, and no. 750, said to be ex Montagu ex Brice, now in the possession of Commander R. P. Mack. A sixth, of unknown provenance, is H. 31 in the Hunterian Collection, University of Glasgow, no. 49 in the Hunterian *Sylloge* volume. The British Museum has three specimens. One of them, *B.M.C. I*, p. 24, 4 which reads 'æpili | ræd', is almost certainly that found with other Anglo-Saxon coins at Reculver, Kent, in the first half of the eighteenth century.² This in turn may have been one of the five early Anglo-Saxon coins from Reculver listed as lot 17 in the William Gostling sale catalogue (1777) and bought by Young for 17s. 0d. The coin was in the Tyssen collection, and reached the British Museum in 1802. The second British Museum specimen (*B.M.C. I*, p. 24, 5) reads 'æpil. | ræd', the third (*B.M.C. I*, p. 24, 6) 'æ+ili | ræd' retrograde. Thoresby's *sceat* resembles the last of these in all respects—only these two have a cross or runic 'n' in place of the correct 'þ'—and it is presumably the same coin.

In *Musæum Thoresbyanum* the antiquary listed his *Æpiliræd* coin as no. 13 of the British, Runic, Saxon and Danish medals, while his description of no. 12 shows it to be almost certainly the *Epa* example. To these must be added Gibson's *Tabula II* no. 14 (= Thoresby no. 11). This is a *sceat* of the runic type, and, although no runes can be identified on Gibson's reproduction, Thoresby describes its obverse as 'a crowned Head with unknown Characters'. Gibson's *Tabula II* no. 38 was also an Anglo-Saxon *sceat*, with the suggestion of a legend, but without identifiable characters. In 1764 Thoresby's collections were sold by auction

¹ M. de Man, 'Sceattas anglo-saxons inédits ou peu connus', *Tijds. v.h. ned. Genootschap v. Munt- en Penningkunde*, III (1895), 138-9 and plate II, 17. A rather different drawing of the runes is given in the same author's 'Que sait-on de la plage de Dombourg? §II. Les monnaies', *TNGMP*, VII (1899), plate VI, 4.

² There are pen drawings of these coins in British Museum MS. Stowe 1049, fo. 26. The *Æpiliræd* coin is no. 4. The runes of the first element are badly reproduced, but 'ræd' is identifiable. Its forms of 'r' and 'd', which are irregular, correspond with those of *B.M.C. I*, p. 24, 4. I owe this reference to Mrs. J. S. Martin.

in London. The sale catalogue, also headed *Musæum Thoresbyanum*, lists the Lund coin, 'supposed to be the Figure of the God *Thor*', as part of lot 132, while the runic *sceattas* and Thoresby's no. 11, still regarded as British coins, form part of lot 130. The annotated copy of the Thoresby sale catalogue in the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, records that lot 130 was bought by Snelling for 15s. 6d. and lot 132 by Snelling for the Duke of Devonshire for £5 2 6d. Neither the Snelling (1774) nor the Devonshire (1844) sale catalogue lists these items as such. According to Galster the Lund coin was in the possession of John White of Newgate Street, London, in 1778, but he gives no evidence for the statement,¹ and the coin is not mentioned in the sale catalogue of White's collection (1788). Its present whereabouts are unknown, nor can the further history of Thoresby's *Epa sceat*, a common type, be traced. As has been seen Thoresby's *Æpiliræd* coin is now in the British Museum, but the date and circumstances of its acquisition are not recorded.² This suggests that it reached the national collection no later than 1838, for after that date acquisitions were commonly registered. However, in 1841 Hawkins, describing this coin type, remarked that 'the British and Hunterian Museums have each a specimen', clearly referring to *B.M.C.* I p. 24, 4 as the illustration (plate IV, 50) shows.³ Thus Thoresby's coin reached the British Museum after 1840 unless Hawkins compiled this chapter some years earlier and failed to bring it up to date when he completed his work.⁴ In 1868 Head recorded the *sceat* in the national collection.⁵ Thus there is a gap of seventy-five to a hundred years in the coin's recorded history.

Thoresby's manuscript and printed catalogues are unfortunately silent as to the ultimate provenances of his runic coins. The core of his collection was obtained by his father from the executors of the Lord General Fairfax. However, both Ralph Thoresby and his father made extensive additions, and it is unlikely that we shall now discover more about the early history of these coins.⁶

¹ 'Runemøntforskning i det 18. Aarhundrede', 125.

² A correction is necessary to R. H. M. Dolley and J. S. Strudwick, 'The provenances of the Anglo-Saxon coins recorded in the two volumes of the British Museum Catalogue', *BNJ* XXVIII (1956), 37 where *Æpiliræd sceattas* nos. 5 and 6 have been interchanged. The accessions register makes it clear that it is no. 5 which was presented by R. Hinde in 1867.

³ E. Hawkins, *The Silver Coins of England* . . . (London, 1841), p. 19.

⁴ The second edition (1876) states (p.v) that

Hawkins wrote his book in 1840.

⁵ B. V. Head, 'Anglo-Saxon coins with runic legends', *NC* N.S. VIII (1868), 84-5.

⁶ A number of scholars have helped me to compile this note. In particular I wish to thank Mrs. J. S. Martin, Mr. S. E. Rigold, Mr. C. E. Blunt, Commander R. P. Mack, Mr. P. Grierson, the Librarian of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, the Headmaster of Leeds Grammar School, and members of the staffs of the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, the Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum, and the Fitzwilliam Museum.

NEW LIGHT ON THE 1843 VIKING-AGE COIN-HOARD FROM DERRYKEIGHAN NEAR DERVOCK IN CO. ANTRIM

By R. H. M. DOLLEY

IN the 1959 volume of this *Journal*¹, Mr. W. A. Seaby has published an account of the 1843 Viking-age coin-hoard from Derrykeighan near Dervock in the north of Co. Antrim, and this account may be thought effectively to supersede Mr. J. D. A. Thompson's *Inventory* listing of three years earlier². In the course of his paper Mr. Seaby suggested that the find may have included a York penny of Eric Bloodaxe (948, 952-954), not improbably a sadly chipped *two-line* (948?) penny of the moneyer Ingelgar which is in the Ulster Museum (*ex* Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society). New evidence more than bears out the validity of what could be in 1959 little more than an inspired guess.

In November 1965 the well-known Dublin numismatist, Mr. F. E. Dixon, wrote to the present writer enclosing rubbings of two coins in his possession, and a sheet of paper inscribed in a late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century hand as follows:—

recto

For Isabella (*vertically*)

verso

'In 1843. June. Some persons
when digging a grave in
the burying ground of
the old Church of Derry:
:Keehan, Dervock, Co.
Antrim discovered two
hundred & sixty Saxon
coins of the following Kings.
Edwig, Edred, Eadgar, Eric,
Athelstan, and Edmund.'

I found the above notice among
my papers, and *think* it is from
Mr. McNeill's book—or 'The MacDonnells of Antrim'.
Please keep this *with* the coins
you have, and sometime, I will
enjoy comparing them, and perhaps
making a list—

S.F.S.'

The sheet of paper measures 7.9 by 4.8 inches, and is feint-ruled and watermarked 'STRATHENDRY/PARCHMENT'. Its date appears to be consistent with the handwriting, and the black ink has faded little if at all. Mr. Dixon has reason to think that the initials are those of one of the Stewarts of Dervock. The paper was acquired in Dervock along with a number

¹ W. A. Seaby 'Anglo-Saxon Hoards and Coins Found in the North of Ireland', *BNJ* XXIX, ii (1959), pp. 248-254.

² J. D. A. Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards A.D. 600-1500* (London, 1956), p. 45 *s.v.* Derry Keerhan.

of coins, but of these only two appear to be connected with the hoard, a silver penny of Eadred (946-955) by the moneyer Hunred, and a fragment of a Carolingian coin which is discussed in detail below. It was of these coins that Mr. Dixon sent rubbings.

It has not been possible to find a reference to the hoard in the Rev. George Hill's *An Historical Account of the MacDonnells of Antrim*, the publication of which in 1873 provides a *terminus post quem* for the document reproduced above, and the identity of the McNeill book remains a mystery—was it perhaps a book in the possession of a mutual acquaintance of that name? Nevertheless the quotation must be thought abundantly to vindicate Mr. Seaby's suggestion that there was at least one coin of Eric in the Derrykeighan find of 1843, and it is perhaps worthwhile remarking that there are on record 13 pennies of Eric of York for which a find spot is known. A summary listing is as follows:—

	TWO-LINE TYPE			SWORD TYPE		
	Ingelgar	Rathulf	Ulfhelm	Ingelgar	Leofic†	Rathulf
Co. Cork ¹	+					
Derrykeighan ²	+					
Killyon Manor ³				+		
Lough Lene ⁴				+	+	
Smarmore ⁵				+		
Iona ⁶						+
Machrie ⁷				+		
Andreas ⁸	+					
Douglas ⁹				+		
Tetney ¹⁰		+				
Rome ¹¹	+		+			

†The coin exists¹² and is in the cabinet of Commander R. P. Mack.¹³

It will be noticed that 6 of the 13 provenances are from Ireland, 2 from Man, and 2 from the Scottish Isles. Only 1 is from England, and there could be no better illustration of the extent to which York remained an integral part of the Hiberno-Norse and Norwegian world even after the expulsion of Eric's great rival, the wily Anlaf Sihtricsson of Dublin.

The second of the coins of which Mr. Dixon sent rubbings is here illustrated by a direct photograph (enlarged). It is beyond all doubt a *denarius* of Pippin II of Aquitaine (839-858), and the legends may be expanded with confidence:—

+PIPINVS] REX E[Q

and:—

+ME] TVL [LO

¹ J. Lindsay, *A View of the Coinage of the Heptarchy etc.* (Cork, 1842), p. 123 etc.

² R. H. M. Dolley, *SCBI*, BM Hiberno-Norse, p. 32, n. 17 etc.

³ *Op. et pag. cit.*, n. 4 etc.

⁴ *Op. et pag. cit.*, n. 7 etc.

⁵ *Op. et pag. cit.*, n. 10 etc.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 33, n. 14 etc.

⁷ *Op. et pag. cit.*, n. 5 etc.

⁸ *Op. et pag. cit.*, n. 7 etc.

⁹ *Op. et pag. cit.*, n. 8 etc.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 34, n. 8 etc.

¹¹ R. H. M. Dolley, 'The Post Brunanburh Viking Coinage of York', *NNA*, 1957-1958, pp. 34, 56 & 57. The 'sword' coin described in this paper as belonging to a hoard from Armagh (pp. 31 & 60) is in fact the coin of *two-line* type from Derrykeighan.

¹² *Pace* Dolley, *op. cit.*, p. 60. By the kindness of Commander Mack an electrotype is in the British Museum.

¹³ Commander Mack informs me that he bought it in 1944 'ex Baldwin, ex Grantley 962, ex Rashleigh 183; found Lough Lynn 1844 [*sic*]'.

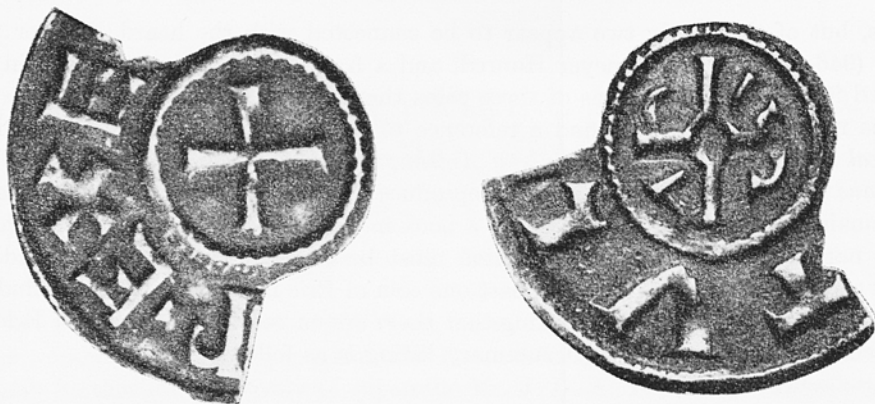


FIG. 1

Comparable coins already are on record as having occurred in an Irish find, the critical 1871 hoard from Mullaghboden¹, and the problem that confronts the numismatist is whether this coin, purchased at Dervock along with an Eadred penny which seems certainly from the hoard², is in fact from the Derrykeighan find of 1843, and not a stray from Mullaghboden, the subject perhaps of an unrecorded exchange between brother-antiquaries.

A recent paper³ has sought to demonstrate that the Mullaghboden find represents a part of the proceeds of Westfalding raids in Aquitaine terminated in 846 when the Vikings abandoned their base at Noirmoutiers, and as such is a welcome piece of fresh evidence that W. E. D. Allen may well be right that the Westfaldings withdrew from France in order to lend support to their hard-pressed cousins in Ireland⁴. On this telling there may well have been brought to Ireland a considerable quantity of Melle coins of Pippin II of Aquitaine, and in this event one might expect the odd coin to figure in finds from the whole island. That the coin is not cited in any of the printed accounts of the Derrykeighan find does not really constitute a valid objection. Nineteenth-century numismatists often were quite singularly blind to the significance of fragmentary coins, and we have just seen that the chipped coin of Eric passed unremarked in the sources quoted by Mr. Seaby in his definitive account of the hoard. More serious is the objection that the coin is sixty or seventy years older than any other of the pieces on record as having been found at Derrykeighan. Here, however, it is necessary to adduce a printed source brought to my notice a year or two back by my friend Mr. L. N. W. Flanagan of the Ulster Museum, William Reeve's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore* which appeared in 1847. As a sober and reliable historian the future Bishop Reeves is in a class by himself, and on p. 79 of this *magnum opus* there occurs the following:—

'A few years since, a hoard of silver coins, 280 in number, was found in a field outside the churchyard [of Derrykeighan]. With the exception of a Trajan, they were all Saxon, of Athelstan, Eadmund, Eadred, Eadwig, and Eadgar; the last being the most numerous. A list of the rarest specimens in the collection may be seen in the Numismatic Chronicle [vol. vi (1843/1844)], p. 213.'

¹ R. H. M. Dolley, *SCBI*, BM Hiberno-Norse, p. 19, n. 3 etc.

² Significantly the Derrykeighan hoard contained 4+ coins of this moneyer. The readings of Mr. Dixon's coin are *obv.* +EADREDREX: and *rev.* .. / HVNR / + + + / EDMO / .. .

³ R. H. M. Dolley, 'The 1871 Viking-Age find of

Silver Coins from Mullaghboden as a Reflection of Westfalding Intervention in Ireland', *Universitetets Oldsaksamlings Årbok*, 1960-1961, pp. 49-62.

⁴ W. E. D. Allen, *The Poet and the Spæ-Wife* (Dublin, 1960), *passim* [= *Saga-Book of the Viking Society*, XV, 3 (1960)].

At first sight the inclusion of a Roman *denarius* of the second or perhaps third¹ century in a tenth-century Viking hoard may seem preposterous. It must be remembered, however, that the owner of the hoard, probably an Irishman since after Killineer (868) Viking influence in Ulster would seem to have been negligible, would have been interested in coins solely as bullion. Almost certainly he was not a user of coin as such. It would have been natural for him to add to his stock of silver any small piece that came his way, and, as it happens, *denarii* of Trajan (98–117) have been found in Antrim in very considerable quantity. They figure very prominently in at least one major hoard, the c. 1830 (? 1827) find from Feigh Mountain² which the present writer believes should be equated with the 1827(?) find from the adjacent Flower Hill³, both places being no more than seven or eight miles removed from Derrykeighan. It is being suggested, too, that the occasion of the hoard or hoards may have been the conquest of Galloway by Q. Lollius Urbicus between 140 and 142, and if silver coin was being brought across the North Channel at that period there is no reason to suppose that the entirety was concealed on Feigh Mountain. Another hoard of the same description, or even a stray-find, could well be the source of the Derrykeighan *denarius*, and while the present writer would be reluctant entirely to preclude the possibility that the coin became confused with the hoard proper only when the latter was discovered, the greater probability must be that Reeves is right when he states that a coin of Trajan was present in the 1843 hoard from Derrykeighan. We should not forget in this connection that from Scandinavia there are well-authenticated instances of Roman *denarii* occurring in Viking hoards, the only controversy in this case being whether the coins are genuine products of Roman mints or, as seems more likely perhaps, imitations of almost contemporary date produced in the Baltic area⁴.

The greater probability, then, is that the original owner of the Derrykeighan hoard may have been something of a magpie where silver coins were concerned, and if he added to his store a *denarius* of Trajan he is unlikely to have eschewed a coin of Pippin II. The latter coin however, with its essentially 'mediaeval' fabric and types, once broken was unlikely to catch the eye of a nineteenth-century antiquary, and so we need not be surprised that it was not remarked by Lindsay or Reeves, or by the still unidentified author of the passage quoted by 'S. F. S.' in the second paragraph of this paper. We have seen that there is some reason to think that in 846 the Westfaldings returned to Norway by way of Ireland, and that *denarii* of Pippin II figured prominently in their loot from Aquitaine. On the other hand there is no evidence whatever to connect the Stewarts of Dervock with Shearman, and the coins from Mullaghboden retained by him are now accounted for, being in the Museum at Clongowes Wood College in Co. Kildare⁵. On balance, then, a Derrykeighan provenance for the Pippin fragment seems very plausible, and it is pleasant to record that Mr. Dixon on hearing of the coin's great interest for the Ulster Museum at once presented it to that institution⁶.

A recent paper has listed a total of 26 hoards with Carolingian coins from Great Britain and Ireland, 14 from England, 6 from Scotland, 4 from Ireland and 1 apiece from Man and

¹ Trajan Decius (249–251), who, however, struck no *denarii*, only *antoniniani*.

² S. P. Ó Ríordáin, 'Roman Material in Ireland', *PRIA*, 51C3 (1947), p. 78, no. 4.

³ *Op. et pag. cit.*, no. 3. The problem of the identity of the two finds will be discussed by me in a forthcoming reassessment of Roman coins found in Ireland in connection both with some recent finds at Newgrange and the controversy over the

date of (St.) Patrick.

⁴ M. Stenberger, *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands der Wikingerzeit*, I (Stockholm, 1958), p. 247 etc.

⁵ Information from my friend Mr. E. Rynne, cf. R. H. M. Dolley & K. F. Morrison, 'Finds of Carolingian Coins from Great Britain and Ireland', *BNJ* XXXII (1963) pp. 75–87.

⁶ Included as well in the gift is the all-critical sheet of paper initialled 'S.F.S.' transcribed above.

from Wales¹. It is a measure of the intensity of work in these islands on coins of the Viking period that already there should be two additions to be made to that list, the Derrykeighan find discussed above which should be inserted as no. 19a on p. 83 of the paper cited, and the Tiree hoard from the Hebrides² to be inserted as no 20a on the same page, now that the Edinburgh *Sylloge* has suggested that the Tiree provenance attaches to certain debased *deniers* from Normandy which have lain without tickets in that collection. What is encouraging is that these two additions to the list reinforce and do not detract from a pattern already observed, this being a very pronounced tendency for Carolingian coins to occur in finds from outside the limits of effective English rule.

A feature that may be remarked in the context of this fifth occurrence of Carolingian coins in an Irish hoard is the fact that of 21 coins described no fewer than 8 should be from the mint of Melle. Of these 6 certainly would appear to belong to the period when the Vikings of Noirmoutiers were pillaging the whole of Aquitaine, and the present writer even wonders if the 1963 paper was not just a little too confident that the coins in the 1843 find from Lough Lene in Co. Westmeath belonged to the tenth century. Again there would be corroboration of W. E. D. Allen's hypothesis that the Westfaldings from Aquitaine withdrew north-westwards instead of up the English Channel, but the point is one that need not be laboured further. Granted that Melle was one of the more prolific of Carolingian mints, the incidence of coins of Melle in Irish finds both requires and receives explanation from the main streams of Irish history.

¹ Dolley & Morrison, *op. cit.*, cf. p. 35 n. 5 *supra*.

² R. H. M. Dolley, *SCBI*, BM Hiberno-Norse, p. 33, n. 6 etc.

A SUBSIDIARY ISSUE OF ÆTHELRED II's *LONG CROSS*

By VERONICA J. SMART

A typical well-struck *Long Cross* coin of Æthelred II goes a long way towards refuting those who would see no art in the late Anglo-Saxon coinage. The cruder design of the 50 or so coins under discussion here, as one may see from the plates, stands out sharply in comparison. But one is also struck by the remarkable homogeneity of this group of coins; this is surely not the result of chance barbarisation.

The portrait first draws the attention to a coin of this group. Whereas on the more usual *Long Cross* coin it is rendered mainly in curves, the portrait on what will here be called the 'subsidiary' style is noticeably angular. The nose is a thick, straight line. The neck and shoulder are one continuous line from the ear to the edge of the coin, unlike the more naturalistic curve of the main style. With the hair or diadem, the radiating lines are all straight, and the terminal pellets very pronounced. The proportions of head to field are often distinctive in that the head is unusually large. The lettering too is distinctive; large and clumsy, it necessitates a drastic abbreviation of the ethnic, which seldom reads further than ANG on coins of this group.



Fig 1 Distribution of mints striking the 'Subsidiary Long Cross' variety

True reverses are naturally more difficult to recognise. Sometimes it is possible to see the same large lettering and short legend, but 'large' is a relative term in the absence of more certain stylistic features.

The distribution of this 'subsidiary' group of *Long Cross* coins is interesting (Fig. 1). All the instances so far recorded are from mints in the east and south-east of England. Most northerly, the Lincoln mint provides several examples; they are represented at Norwich, and in the little cluster of mints Huntingdon, Bedford and Cambridge. They are present at Colchester, and most numerous at London. South of the Thames they reappear at Canterbury, Dover, Romney and Lewes.

A problem in attribution is raised by the examples with mint-signatures of *SVD* and *SVD*. Since coins in this style are plentiful at London, and continue to occur south of the river, Southwark is a possible though not a certain location. On the other hand Sudbury lies midway between the other source-mints of Colchester and Cambridge, and if a mint was operating there in the period 997–1003, coins of this style would be expected. Prosopography helps not at all; the *SVD*–*SVD* moneyer is one Godric, perhaps the commonest of Anglo-Saxon personal names at this period, widespread over the whole country with no regional associations. Not surprisingly, the London mint has its Godric in the *Long Cross* type, and so do Cambridge, Colchester and Huntingdon, the mints circumambient to Sudbury. Both London and Colchester have coins of Godric in the 'subsidiary' style. These coins could belong equally to Southwark or Sudbury, or indeed some to each.

Having established that these 'subsidiary' coins constitute some sort of homogeneous group in style and distribution, two questions suggest themselves. Firstly, are they in fact part of the English series? And secondly, if they are, what part did they play in the Æthelræd coinage?

The answer to the first question is not so obvious as it might seem. The fact is that attention was first drawn to the peculiarities of the group during an attempt to weed out foreign imitations from the Stockholm Systematic Collection. *Long Cross* is the type amongst Æthelræd's coins most frequently imitated in Scandinavia and Ireland, and in Ireland particularly the imitators developed a style of portrait certainly not barbarous, but distinctive. There are, indeed, two coins which show the 'subsidiary' style on the obverse and are unquestionably Irish. One is in the Systematic Collection in Stockholm and bears Æthelræd's name and title. The other, in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, is from the same reverse die, (reading *EDRIC M'O DYF*) but the obverse is in the name of Sihtric, king in Dublin. It is, however, not necessary to class the 'subsidiary' group as a whole with the Irish series on account of these two coins. In the first place, it is probably significant that the only two known coins of the 'subsidiary' style from the Dublin mint share the same reverse die. Amongst the group with English mint-signatures there is very little die-linking, which suggests that they are what they purport to be—the work of several mints, and not the imitations of one. Further, all those signed as from English mints are free from the traces of Irish imitation—the upright cross instead of *x* in *REX*, the intrusive *ι*, the blundering of personal or place-name. The close-knit distribution too, hardly favours a haphazard copying of English mint-signatures. Finally, if the whole group were Irish, it would furnish the only Irish imitation ever to be found in an English hoard of the late Anglo-Saxon period; an example of this style appears in the Honey Lane Market hoard¹. The two Dublin obverses must surely be regarded as clever imitations of the 'subsidiary' style.

¹ R. H. M. Dolley, in *NC*, 1958, p. 100.

As with many aspects of Anglo-Saxon numismatics, description is easier than explanation, since the coins exist almost in a documentary vacuum. Nevertheless, even if no acceptable explanation should be forthcoming, mere description has its uses; isolated examples of the style have been remarked on for their 'unusual work'¹, and are better understood if they are shown to have a background of more numerous examples and a specific distribution.

It is tempting to find parallels with styles and varieties in other types. The one that springs most immediately to mind is Hild. var. C a in *Crux*². There is the same occurrence of a portrait of different styles from that in the main issue. In 'subsidiary' *Long Cross* too the flan tends to be small and though it is not consistently lighter than *Long Cross* as a whole, a frequency-table for the weights of 'subsidiary' *Long*¹ *Cross* shows a greater proportion of the weights in the lighter reaches of the table than is the case for the type as a whole. A curious facet of this is that all 'subsidiary' *Long Cross* coins weighing more than 23 grains are from the London mint. This achievement of better weight by London is exactly the same as that noted by Mr. B. H. I. H. Stewart in the 'small *Crux*' variety.

Where the exact analogy breaks down is that Hild. var. C a is known not only from mints in the 'subsidiary' *Long Cross* area, but from Bath, Exeter, and probably from Barnstaple and York.

Another analogy lies in the regional styles in the *Last Small Cross* issue of Æthelræd and Cnut's *Quatrefoil*. But it is not a close analogy since the area is much wider than that covered by any one style in the types mentioned. Also, the coins of the 'subsidiary' style are very much in a minority even at the mints where they are most plentiful. The most plausible die-cutting centre is London; it is unlikely that Lincoln should have supplied London with dies, or that Lincoln dies would have been sent south of the Thames. It is difficult to find any explanation for the regional distribution of 'subsidiary' *Long Cross* that does not include a division of territory for the supply of dies. Whatever the place filled by the issue of 'subsidiary' dies to the East, it is not impossible that some centre in the West, possibly Winchester, was fulfilling the same function for its own sphere of influence. We have so far spoken of the main issue as if it were completely homogeneous, but there is maybe a slightly variant style to be distinguished at southwestern mints, though it is less obtrusive than that under discussion here.

One explanation of the 'subsidiary' variety could be that after the initial recoinage in *Long Cross* was over, these dies were cut to supply replacements for broken dies. A shortage of silver at such a later date, caused by the drain of Danegeld from the country, might account for the smallness and lightness of the newer coins. Apart from this lowering of weight-standard there is no clue as to whether the variety appeared early or late in the type. Hoard evidence and prosopography, on present evidence, would fit either position. One could say with more confidence that this 'subsidiary' variety was taking the same place in the currency of *Long Cross* that 'small *Crux*', Hild. var. C a. took in the *Crux* issue, with this difference: that whereas the 'small *Crux*' variety was issued over the whole country, 'subsidiary' *Long Cross* reflects a regional die-distribution such as was later to show such effect in *Last Small Cross*.

There follows a list of examples of 'subsidiary' *Long Cross* coins from the Stockholm Systematic Collection. Other examples I have come across which furnish mints and moneyers not known in this collection have been added for the sake of completeness. Where obverse and

¹ See *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Part I, nos. 681 and 685.

² B. H. I. H. Stewart, The Small *Crux* issue of Æthelræd II, *BNJ*, XXVIII, p. 509.

reverse legends are correctly recorded in Hildebrand, only the Hildebrand number is given. Finally, my thanks are due to the Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm, and to the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum, for the photographs which make up the accompanying plates.

BEDFORD	Ælfwi	BM ex Honey Lane Market hoard	Wt. 20.1 grains	Pl. II, 1
CAMBRIDGE	Edwine	Hild. 1168	Wt. 20 gr.	Pl. II, 2
	Edwine	Hild. 1171	Wt. 21.5 gr.	Pl. II, 3
	Wulfsige	Hild. 1211	Wt. 19.2 gr.	Pl. II, 4
CANTERBURY	Lifinc	Hild. 236	Wt. 19.5 gr.	Pl. II, 5
COLCHESTER	Godric	Hild. 295	Wt. 19 gr.	Pl. II, 6
DOVER	Lyfsye	Hild. 422	Wt. 17.6 gr.	Pl. II, 7
HUNTINGDON	Ælfrie	Hild. 1361	Wt. 19.5 gr.	Pl. II, 8
	Ælfrie	Hild. 1362	Wt. 20 gr.	Pl. II, 9
LEWES	Merewine	Hild. 1461	Wt. 20.5 gr.	Pl. II, 10, 11 ¹
LINCOLN	Ælfs(i)ge	Hild. 1619	Wt. 22.2 gr.	Pl. II, 12
	Ælfsige	Hild. 1628	Wt. 18.5 gr.	Pl. II, 13
	Ælfsige	Hild. 1629	Wt. 18 gr.	Pl. II, 14
	Ælfsige	Hild. 4057	Wt. 18 gr.	Pl. II, 15 ²
	Colgrim	Hild. 1709	Wt. 22 gr.	Pl. II, 16
LONDON	Ælfwine	Hild. 2125	Wt. 25.4 gr.	Pl. II, 17
	Ælfwine	Hild. 2126	Wt. 25.4 gr.	Pl. II, 18 ³
	Ælfwine	Hild. 2127	Wt. 19.2 gr.	Pl. II, 19 ⁴
	Ælfwine	Hild. 2129	Wt. 26.1 gr.	Pl. II, 20
	Æthelmær	Hild. 2146	Wt. 24.6 gr.	Pl. II, 21
	Æthelwerd	Hild. 2162	Wt. 22 gr.	Pl. II, 22 ⁵
	Æthelwerd	Hild. 2163	Wt. 24 gr.	Pl. II, 23 ⁶
	Brunstan	Hild. 2255	Wt. 20 gr.	Pl. II, 24
	Brunstan	Hild. 2255 var.	Wt. 26.5 gr.	Pl. II, 25, 26 ⁷
	Brunstan	Hild. 2258	Wt. 27.7 gr.	Pl. III, 27
	Brunstan	Hild. 2259	Wt. 20.8 gr.	Pl. III, 28
	Eadwold	Hild. 2425	Wt. 25.5 gr.	Pl. III, 29
	Edwine	Hild. 2488	Wt. 18 gr.	Pl. III, 30
	Godric	Hild. 2586	Wt. 23.5 gr.	Pl. III, 31
	Godric	Hild. 2587	Wt. 20.8 gr.	Pl. III, 32
	Godwine	Hild. 2642	Wt. 18.5 gr.	Pl. III, 33
	Heawulf	Hild. 2659	Wt. 20 gr.	Pl. III, 34
	Leofnoth	Hild. 2669	Wt. 24.6 gr.	Pl. III, 35
	Leofric	Hild. 2687	Wt. 19.2 gr.	Pl. III, 36
	Leofric	Hild. 2690	Wt. 30.7 gr.	Pl. III, 37 ⁸
	Leofwine	Hild. 2751	Wt. 21.5 gr.	Pl. III, 38
	Leofwine	Hild. 2752	Wt. 21.5 gr.	Pl. III, 39
	Leofwine	Hild. 2753	Wt. 26.1 gr.	Pl. III, 40
	Leofwine	Hild. 2754	Wt. 23 gr.	Pl. III, 41
	Leofwine	Hild. 2756	Wt. 25 gr.	Pl. III, 42
	Osulf	Hild. 2883	Wt. 19.5 gr.	Pl. III, 43

¹ 2 examples, the second weighing 21.5 gr.

² Formerly attributed to Winchester; see R. H. M. Dolley in *SNC* 1959 p. 200.

³ Obverse in fact reads +ÆDELRAED REX AN.

⁴ Obverse in fact reads +ÆDLRAED.

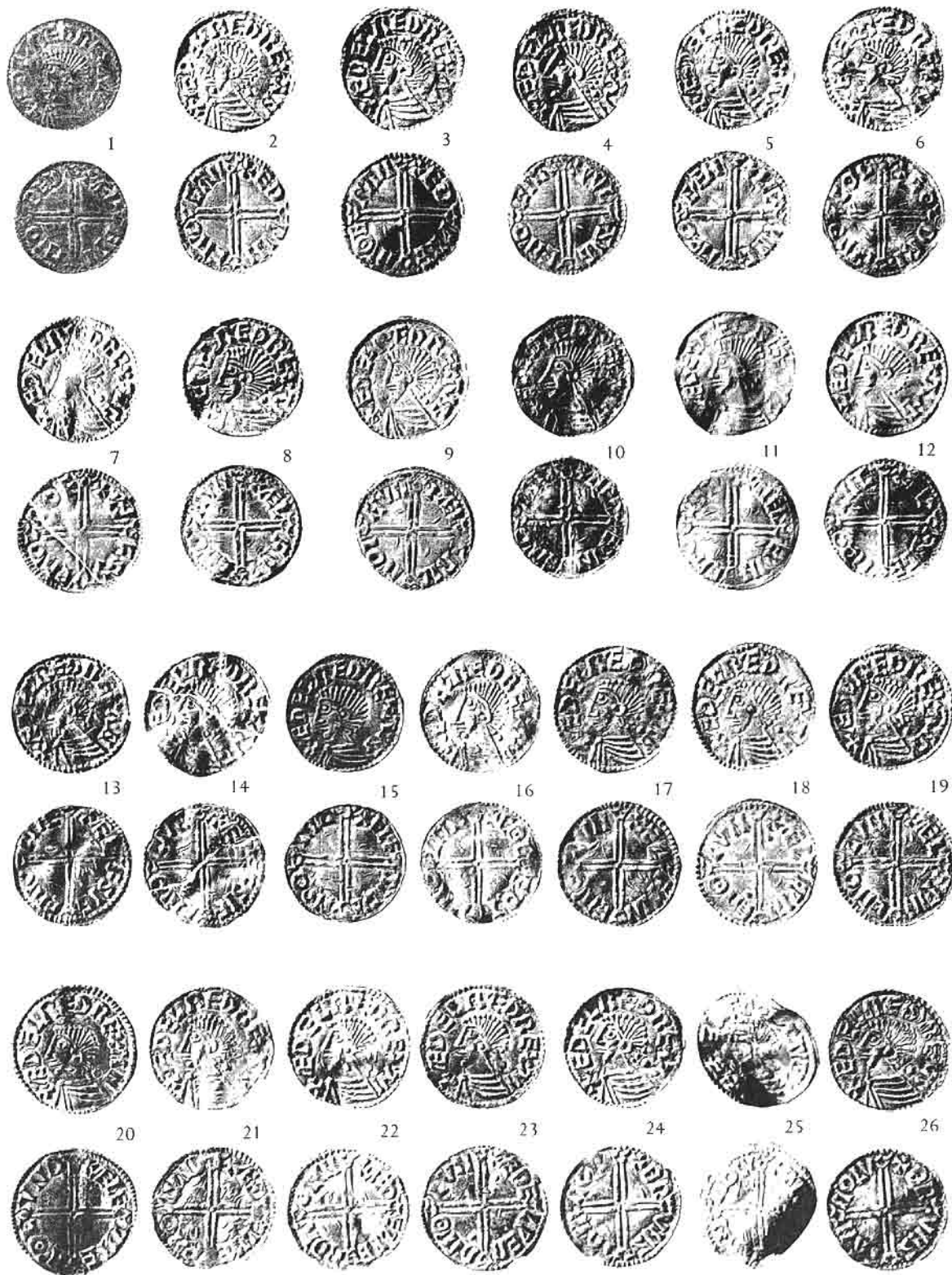
⁵ Obverse reads +ÆDECRCD.

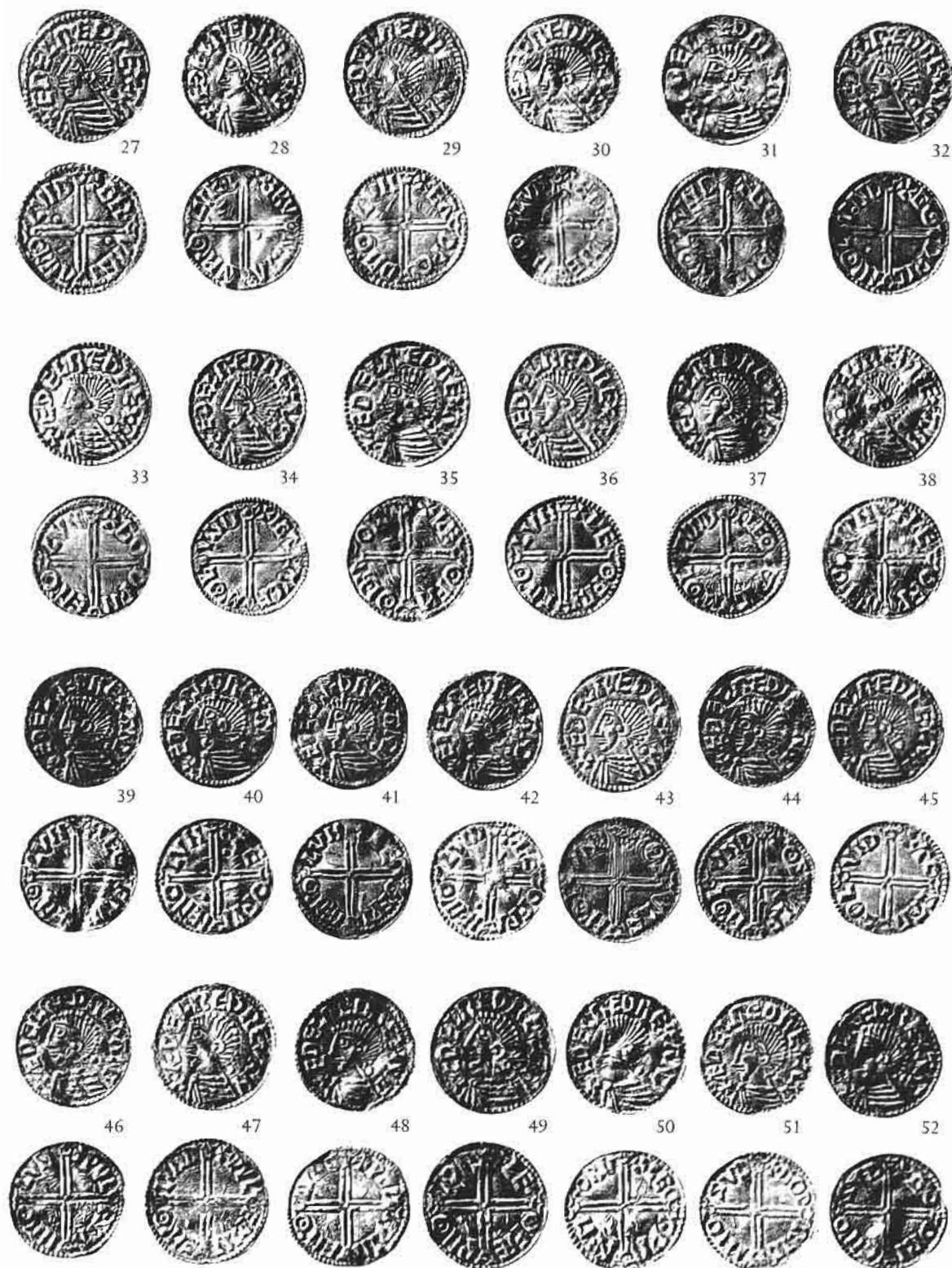
⁶ Obverse reads +ÆDECRCD.

⁷ 2 examples, the second weighing 24.6 gr.

⁸ Reverse in fact reads +LEOFRIC M'O LLVND.

	Osulf	Hild. 2884	Wt. 24.6 gr.	Pl. III, 44
	Toca	Hild. 2946	Wt. 21.5 gr.	Pl. III, 45
	Wulfstan	Hild. 2989	Wt. 21.5 gr.	Pl. III, 46
	Wulfwine	Hild. 3005	Wt. 20.8 gr.	Pl. III, 47
	Wulfwine	Hild. 3006	Wt. 25.5 gr.	Pl. III, 48
NORWICH	Leofmar	Hild. 3148	Wt. 19.5 gr.	Pl. III, 49
ROMNEY	Leofwine	Hild. 3316	Wt. 21 gr.	Pl. III, 50
SOUTHWARK	Godric	Hild. 3609	Wt. 19.5 gr.	Pl. III, 51
(or ? SUDBURY)	Godric	Hild. 3610	Wt. 18 gr.	Pl. III, 52





A SUBSIDIARY ISSUE OF ÆTHELRÆD II's LONG CROSS TYPE. II

A ROUND HALFPENNY OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

By C. S. S. LYON



LEFT: actual size

BELOW: enlarged



I RECENTLY had occasion to look through the Anglo-Saxon pennies in the trays of the Yorkshire Museum, and was most surprised to find there a coin of Edward the Confessor's 'Sovereign' type which was clearly not a penny. It reads

EADPRD REX ANGLO /+BR·YNNIC ON LEG:

with some suggestion of pellets between each pair of the last five letters of the moneyer's name. Besides being slightly chipped it is very thin and shows appreciable wear. Its weight is 7.0 grains and its average flan diameter is $\frac{5}{8}$ in. The edge does not look as though a 'pie-cutter' was used to produce the coin from a square flan, and the die-axis is irregular (c. 105°). The coin has a dark patina.

Mr. G. F. Wilmot, Keeper of the Yorkshire Museum, who has kindly given me permission to publish the coin, tells me that it comes from the Robert Cook Collection¹, and is described as follows in Cook's catalogue:

¹ The Cook Bequest is referred to in the *Annual Report of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society* 1920, p. xv.

'Robert Bielby Cook, of 44 St. John Street, York, who died on May 29th 1919, in his Will, wrote: "I bequeath to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society my Collections of Old Coins, chiefly Roman and English, formed by my father, Robert Cook, and myself, and containing many specimens found in York and its neighbourhood, on condition that the same Collections

be kept together as nearly as possible in their present condition, and known as the 'Robert Cook Collection'."

According to the *York Herald* of 3rd December 1919, Robert Bielby Cook, LL.B. was 58 when he died. He was the son of Robert Cook of Scarborough and was sometime Liberal Agent for Scarborough. He worked later in York as a searcher of Wills and genealogies, and published the Parish Register of St. Martin's, Coney Street, York (Yorkshire Parish Register Society).

'Edward the Confessor (1042-1066) Pennies. No. 2 rev + BRENNI ON LEG (Leicester), cross voided, martlet in each angle, called the Confessor's arms. Fig. in Hawkins, Type 19 Pl. XVII No. 228. Leicester Mint. Wt. 7 grs. 3/6.'

Mr. Willmot remarks¹ that 'Cook usually gives the name of the person from whom he purchased his coins, but in this case no name is given. Perhaps it was from a local workman'. He adds that the following coin in the catalogue—presumably therefore purchased later—was bought from W. M. Maish, Esq., Bristol on 22nd March 1898.

Leaving aside Cook's misreading of the reverse inscription and his mistaken attribution of the coin to Leicester rather than Chester, the first point to be considered is its authenticity. There seems no valid reason to dispute this. Cook was essentially a collector of coins of the York mint and the inclusion in his collection of a 'Leicester' coin can best be explained if he bought it from the finder. If it were a fabrication he could hardly have purchased it for only 3/6d., nor would it have been sold to him as a penny. The thin, frail, chipped flan and the dark patina are in its favour, as is its apparent uniqueness. But the most telling evidence is that the obverse and reverse inscriptions are identical with those of No. 334 in the Chester *Sylloge*, unquestionably a penny of the Chester mint². The correspondence is so close that the same peculiar form of G in LEG occurs on both, and so does the appearance of stops between the letters of the moneyer's name. Even the details of the obverse and reverse designs tally so minutely that it is almost as though the dies used for the two coins were prepared from master dies with the aid of a reducing machine, though this is obviously impossible. But they must have been cut by the same hand, probably consecutively.

What denomination does the smaller coin represent? It can be argued that as late Anglo-Saxon pennies were commonly cut into halves or quarters to provide small change there was no need for a round halfpenny, and that a third-penny is therefore more to be expected. Now the pennies of the 'Sovereign type listed in the *British Museum Catalogue* have an average weight of just over 20 grains, and more than three-quarters of them lie in the range 19½–21½ grains. Taking *BMC* and the Chester *Sylloge* together, the heaviest Chester penny weighs 21.6 and the lightest 16.8 grains; *Sylloge* No. 334, referred to above, weighs 17.8 grains. Bearing in mind its condition Cook's coin seems heavy for a third-penny although the hypothesis cannot be completely rejected on this account alone.

Claims were made from time to time in the nineteenth century for the existence of round halfpence or third-pennies of Edward the Confessor, but these seem without exception to have been pence of the Short Cross issue, *BMC* ii (actually the fourth type of the reign), this issue having been struck on small flans.³ The exceptionally wide variation in weight shown by the coins of that issue was no doubt partially responsible for the confusion, for of those listed in the *British Museum Catalogue* more than one-quarter weigh less than 12 grains and a quarter of these weigh less than 10 grains. It is coins of this lightest group which have been mistaken for halfpennies or third-pennies. In contrast the heaviest quarter of the coins of Type ii in *BMC*, although struck on flans of the same size, weigh between 16½ and 19½ grains and could not possibly have been halfpence. The reason for the use of such small flans for this issue has never been clear. It hardly seems likely that it was to distinguish Short Cross coins from those of the previous issue (Trefoil-Quadrilateral). It seems just possible

¹ In a letter dated 1st July, 1965.

² *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles: Grosvenor Museum, Chester, Part I*, by Miss E. J. E. Pirie, Plate XII. I am not convinced that nos. 333 and 334 are from common obverse and reverse dies.

No. 333 is a duplicate of *BMC* 647.

³ See for example Eckroyd Smith in *The Reliquary*, vol. ix, pp. 169–171. (I am grateful to Mr. Blunt for giving me this reference.)

that an issue of round halfpence was contemplated and the dies prepared, and that at the last moment it was decided not to strike halfpence but to use the dies for a normal issue of pennies.

Mr. Blunt has drawn my attention to a coin exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries of London on 22nd December 1743 which was probably but not certainly also of *BMC* Type ii, and has kindly provided me with the following extract from the relevant (MS) minute book:

'[The Rev. George North shewed] a halfpenny of Edward the Confessor in good preservation weight $9\frac{1}{2}$ grains found at Welwyn in Hertfordshire the manor of which was given to the Presbyter of that place by the same king. The profile head of the King to the right with an helmet on *EDPERD REX* R + [voided] *VFINC* ON LVND. It is the only Saxon halfpenny that has yet appeared.'

The reverse of the coin as described is entirely consistent with Type ii although the moneyer is probably Lifinc (cf. *BMC* 830). The obverse inscription when rearranged as +*EDPERD RE* is quite common in this type and were it not for the statement that the king's head faces right there would be no need to consider the possibility of the coin having been other than a penny of Type ii. The only possible alternative is that it was a round halfpenny of the Pointed Helmet type, *BMC* vii, but this does not seem very probable. Not only is there no mention of the sceptre invariably found on pennies of that type but there is also no suggestion of crescents at the end of each limb of the voided cross. Moreover there is no moneyer Lifinc recorded for the type at London in *BMC* and ligation of the ND of the mint signature does not seem to occur on pennies of this issue. The coin exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries in 1743 is thus more likely to have been a penny of Type ii, the right-facing protrait probably being an error of description.¹

There seems to have been at least an intermittent striking of round halfpence during the tenth century, although they rarely occur in coin hoards.² The latest known of these halfpence dates from the reign of Edgar, before the recoinage of c. 973. No eleventh-century round halfpennies are known from before the reign of Edward the Confessor, and in the light of the wealth of material from this period which has survived in hoards in Scandinavia and other countries around the Baltic Sea it can be assumed with reasonable confidence that none were struck. Cut halfpennies and to a lesser extent farthings are, however, quite common.

These continued to be used during the early part of Edward the Confessor's reign, and they are recorded in *BMC* for Types i-iv.³ There is however only one cut halfpenny recorded there for a later type—the Facing Bust Issue (*BMC* xiii), towards the end of the reign—and there can be little doubt that the practice of cutting pence became less common in the middle of the reign, if it did not cease altogether. After the Norman conquest the pattern changed little, if we can judge from the evidence of hoards, until towards the end of the reign of Henry I⁴: Brooke records only 18 cut halfpennies of the 'Paxs' type in the Beaworth hoard, or less than one-third of 1% of the coins in the hoard⁵, and apart from these his catalogue lists no cut halfpence of William I and only one of William II (Type v) and Carlyon-Britton's

¹ Ruding (*Annals of the Coinage*, 3rd edition, p. 141) transcribes this minute but miscopies the moneyer's name as VFINE and makes no mention of the voided cross.

² C. E. Blunt, 'Tenth Century Half-Pennies and C. Roach Smith's Plate of Coins found in London', *BNJ* xxxi (1962), pp. 44-48.

³ This is also the case in the *Fitzwilliam Museum*

Sylloge.

⁴ The validity of hoard evidence in this respect is, however, open to some question. In the excavations now being carried out at Winchester, out of 9 coins of William I and II so far discovered (all isolated finds) no less than 4 are cut half-pence.

⁵ G. C. Brooke, *Norman Kings*, vol. I, p. xxi.

lists add very few more.¹ Hoards from Stephen's reign, in contrast, contain a substantial proportion of cut halfpence and farthings.

It can scarcely be inferred from the apparent dearth of cut halfpennies between 1050 and 1125 that round halfpennies were used instead throughout this period, because these in turn might have been expected to have occurred in hoards had they been minted in quantity. The existence of a round halfpenny of the 'Sovereign' type need not however be a matter for surprise if, as seems possible, it may not have been the universal custom at that time to cut pennies into halves and quarters. That round halfpennies were ordered to be struck in Henry I's reign is beyond question, although only one is known to have survived.² It therefore seems unnecessary to consider further the possibility of the 'Sovereign' coin being a third-penny. No doubt round halfpennies of other issues will sooner or later come to light, though more probably as single finds than in hoards.

¹ P. Carlyon-Britton, 'William I & II, their Mints and Moneyers', *SNC* 1902. One cut halfpenny of Romney is noted of Brooke Type I, two of Wallingford of Type II and three of Wallingford and one of Derby of Type III, all of William I.

² P. Seaby, 'A Round Halfpenny of Henry I', *BNJ* xxvi (1952), pp. 280-5; P. Grierson and C. Brooke, 'Round Halfpennies of Henry I', *op. cit.*, pp. 286-9; Prof. T. Mabbott, letter in *BNJ* xxvii (1955) p. 91.

THE BUCKINGHAM MINT

By R. H. M. DOLLEY, D. J. ELLIOTT and F. ELMORE JONES

[Pl. IV]

THERE is no evidence for the existence of a mint at Buckingham before the recoinage which undoubtedly took place in the last years of the reign of Eadgar. At this time, evidently to facilitate this and subsequent regular recoinages, a mint was opened in virtually every centre of any importance, whereas before mints had tended to spring up sporadically in major towns or to meet peculiar local needs. The earliest coins of Buckingham to have survived both belong to the first recoinage issue which continued to be struck under Edward the Martyr and for a year or so under Æthelræd II. As it happens, neither penny has the name of Eadgar and both have the name of Edward the Martyr, and so can be dated between 975 and 978. None may have been struck for Æthelræd II, but the probability is that some were issued in the reign of Eadgar, in which case the creation of the Buckingham mint could be dated a year or two before 975, and Mr. Dolley would still suggest Michaelmas 973 as the most likely time. The two coins of Edward the Martyr, silver pennies like all the other pieces here considered, are of the greatest rarity. One is in the British Museum, the other in the Statens Historiska Museum at Stockholm, and both are as it happens from one and the same reverse die. The moneyer is one Tunulf, a personal name unusual where Anglo-Saxon coins are concerned.

That there are no coins surviving from the first year or so of the reign of Æthelræd II does not surprise, and especially since it is not impossible that none were struck, but a *lacuna* which is perhaps unexpected embraces the first two substantive issues of the reign, the so-called *First* and *Second Hand* types which carry the story down to 991 or thereabouts. Coins of the next issue, the *Crux* type, are even more common, and Buckingham reappears on the scene with three pennies, all of Tunulf and from two pairs of dies. One is in the British Museum and two are at Stockholm. Probably in 997 there was felt the need for a small supplementary issue, and Tunulf appears to have been no longer available for the moneyer is Sibwine, possibly a journeyman from London as he is almost at once superseded. The unique coin of this issue is in the Royal Coin Cabinet at Copenhagen. The ensuing *Long Cross* type was struck on a very large scale at every available mint in England, and a pointer to the output of Buckingham being comparatively exiguous is the circumstance that the five pennies extant today, two specimens in English private cabinets, one in the British Museum, and one apiece at Stockholm and at Copenhagen, not only are all by one moneyer, a certain Ælfwi(g), but are from a single pair of dies. There follows a second major *lacuna* in our knowledge of the operations of the Buckingham mint. That we have no coin of the *Helmet* type could be due to chance, but if the mint had not been already closed there would be an obvious occasion in the winter of 1009/1010 which would explain the absence of the relatively common so-called *Last Small Cross* issue, the Viking attack, which, as Mr. C. S. S. Lyon is in process of showing, brought coining at Oxford and Wallingford to an abrupt halt.

The interruption in the output of the Buckingham mint was only temporary, and, if closed, it certainly reopened early in the reign of Cnut. There was a very large emission of coin from mints all over England, and this time Buckingham's share was more than nominal. Of Cnut's

first type there are extant no fewer than nine pennies, and indicative of striking on a considerable scale is the circumstance that they are from seven obverse and seven reverse dies. The moneyers are Ælfward, of whom there is a unique coin in the British Museum, and Leofric, six of whose coins are at Stockholm and two at Copenhagen. There is some reason to think that a pair of dies could strike £40 in silver pennies, possibly more¹, and on this telling Buckingham's contribution to the coined wealth of England may well have been of the order of three or four hundredweight of silver pennies—some allowance has to be made for the probability that the extant coins are not representative of all the dies that in fact were employed.

It would seem that this bout of activity was short-lived. For the *Pointed Helmet* issue precisely two Buckingham coins of Leofric are known, one in Stockholm and one in Copenhagen, and they prove to be from one pair of dies, while for the *Short Cross* issue, which appears to have coincided with the last six years of Cnut's reign, the Buckingham mint is attested by a fragmentary coin, apparently of Leofric, which again is in the Stockholm collection. The accession in 1035 of Harold Harefoot saw Leofric replaced by a certain Brihtwine who is known from die-duplicate coins in Stockholm and in Copenhagen, but he in turn was very soon superseded by one Leofwine whose five coins, each unique of the type and mint, span the last years of Harold, the sole reign of Harthacnut, and the first five years or so of that of Edward the Confessor. Four are in Stockholm, and the fifth in Copenhagen. An interesting detail is that in the period c. 1045 Leofwine was also the Aylesbury moneyer, but there is no die-link with Buckingham. A minor *lacuna* occurs in Edward the Confessor's fourth substantive type, but Leofwine probably did strike it as he is known, from a unique coin in the Aylesbury Museum, for the *Expanding Cross* issue which seems to have been current between 1050 and 1053. Again there is a minor *lacuna*, and the moneyer of the unique coin of the *Sovereign/Eagles* issue is a certain Theodred. His career was very short, for in the very next issue the Buckingham moneyer is one Æstan or Æthelstan. Four coins of his are known, all from one and the same pair of dies. Two, like the preceding coin, are in the Guildhall Museum in London, and two are in English private cabinets. The indications are that the output of the Buckingham mint was exiguous in the extreme, and, though the mint may have lingered on for a few years, the probability must be that it did not survive the Norman Conquest.

There are known to us, then, 36 coins of the Buckingham mint, the earliest struck c. 975 and the latest c. 1060, and of these only one third are in English collections. The number of obverse dies represented is 24, and of reverse 23, and it may be calculated from probability theory that if the surviving coins can be taken as a random sample of the whole output of the mint and that the number of coins struck from each die did not vary greatly (assumptions which may or may not be sufficiently close to the truth), the number of dies actually used at Buckingham down the years is unlikely to have been less than thirty pairs nor more than double this number². On this telling something of the order of a ton of silver may have passed through the Buckingham mint in 85 years, but little of this would have been in the shape of bullion. At each sexennial or triennial recoinage the bulk of the silver was obtained by calling in and melting down the coins of the previous issue. It must be admitted that there were few 'county towns' where the mint was so comparatively unimportant, and this is doubtless a measure of the extent to which Buckingham was overshadowed by London and, to a lesser degree, by Oxford and by Wallingford. There is no occasion when we need

¹ Cf. *NC* 1963, p. 106.

² This computation is based on C. S. S. Lyon,

'The Estimation of the Number of Dies employed in a Coinage', *SNC* September 1965, p. 180.

suppose that more than one moneyer was at work, and the impression is left that the mint may have operated not so much to meet a genuine local need for coin, but to serve as a reminder that the place had borough status. In the tenth century a code of laws had prescribed that any borough might have one moneyer without further ado, and, though we must be careful not to assume that this principle necessarily obtained a century later, there can be little doubt that the possession of a mint was in some way a status symbol. To put the economic importance of Buckingham in its proper perspective, though, we should perhaps recall that in the period c. 1017–1023 the Oxford mint had been staffed by a total of at least fourteen moneyers, and the Wallingford mint by at least six, while if the surviving coins are indicative of the total output the contribution of Buckingham to the coined wealth of England over the whole period may be thought of in terms of 0.05%.

The names of the nine Buckingham moneyers are composed of seven protothemes (Ælf-, Æ(thel)-, Briht-, (for Beorht-), Leof-, Sib-, Theod- and Tun-) and seven deuterothermes (-ræd, -ric, -stan, -ward, -wi(g) -wine and -(w)ulf), and it is possible that the office of moneyer was to some extent hereditary, though this is far from being prosopographically obvious. What the coins do supply, though, is a rich series of closely dated though highly abbreviated forms for the name of the mint, and students of English place-names may welcome the following summary of the present position:—

<i>approx date</i>		<i>approx. date</i>	
973–979	Bucm	1037–1040	Bu
991–997	Bucig, Bucin	1040–1042	Bucin
997	Buceinga	1042–1044	Bu
997–1003	Bucci	1044–1046	Bucii
1017–1023	Buci, Bui, Buh (3) †	1046–1048	Buen
1023–1029	Bucci	1050–1053	Bucien (for Buccin)
1029–1035	Buc	1056–1059	Buc
1035–1037	Bu	1059–1062	Bucie

† also blunderings Duh (for Buh) and (?) Bruc.

CORPUS OF EXTANT COINS OF THE BUCKINGHAM MINT

The coins are arranged chronologically in the sequence adopted for other recent papers of this kind. Where die-duplicates are concerned, specimens in public collections are listed above those in private cabinets, but for purposes of illustration priority has been given to pieces which have not been illustrated elsewhere, and within this category to the less accessible coins.

Present ownership is indicated by the following codes:—

A	Buckinghamshire County Museum, Aylesbury, No. 22.
AHFB	A. H. F. Baldwin, Esq., No. 24c.
BM	Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London, Nos. 1, 3a, 6a, 7.
FEJ	F. Elmore Jones, Esq., Nos. 6d, 24d.
GML	Guildhall Museum, London, Nos. 23, 24a & b.
HHK	H. H. King, Esq., No. 6c.
K	Royal Coin Cabinet, National Museum, Copenhagen, Nos. 5, 6c, 8b, 12b, 14b, 16b, 21.
SHM	Royal Coin Cabinet, Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm, Nos. 2, 3b, 4, 6b, 8a, 9, 10, 11, 12a, 13, 14a, 15, 16a, 17, 18, 19, 20.

Every die and die-combination is illustrated on the accompanying Plate IV. Die-duplicates numbered 3a, 6 c & e, 8b, 14b and 24c will be found illustrated in the different works cited. Photographs of the remaining pieces (6a & b, 12a, 16b and 24a & b) are in the possession of Mr. D. J. Elliott. Thanks are due to the owners and/or custodians of the different coins for supplying photographs or for making them available for photography, and also for permission to reproduce them here.

Moneyer TUNULF.

EDWARD THE MARTYR (975-978).

- | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| (1) <i>Obv.</i> | +EADPEARDREXANGLOX(lig) | [Pl. IV, 1] |
| <i>Rev.</i> | +TVNVLFM-OBVCM | |
| | BM, ex Lockett 2758. | Wt. 18.4 gr. (1.19 g.) |
| (2) <i>Obv.</i> | +EADPEARDREXANL(or G?)OX | [Pl. IV, 2] |
| <i>Rev.</i> | From same die as (1) | |
| | SHM, Hild. 1. | Wt. 16.1 gr. (1.04 g.) |

N.B. The common reverse die of the above two coins in each case is used in a very rusty state.

ÆTHELRÆD II (978-1016).

Cruz issue (991-997?).

- | | | |
|-----------------|---|-------------------------|
| (3) <i>Obv.</i> | +ÆDELREÆDREXANG(lig)LORX(lig) | |
| <i>Rev.</i> | +TVNVLFM-OBVCIG | |
| | (a) BM, <i>BMC</i> 14 (ill. Pl. XV. 3). | |
| | (b) SHM, Inv. 21613/16. | [Pl. IV, 3]. |
| | Wts. (a) 22.3 gr. (1.45 g.). | (b) 24.1 gr. (1.56 g.). |
| (4) <i>Obv.</i> | +ÆDELREÆDREXANG(lig)LORX(lig) | [Pl. IV, 4]. |
| | +TVNVLFM-OBVCIN | |
| | SHM, Hild. 116. | Wt. 23.7 gr. (1.54 g.). |

*Moneyer SIBWINE.*Diademed *Cruz* variety with sceptre (summer 997?).

- | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| (5) <i>Obv.</i> | +ÆDELREÆDREXANG(lig)LORX | [Pl. IV, 5]. |
| <i>Rev.</i> | +SIBPINEM-OBVCCINGA | |
| | K, <i>SCBI</i> 37. | Wt. 23.7 gr. (1.54 g.). |

N.B. This variety is known only for Aylesbury, Buckingham and Totnes, cf. *BNJ* xxix, ii (1959), pp. 259-264.

*Moneyer ÆLFWI.**Long Cross* issue (997-1003?).

- | | | |
|-----------------|--|---|
| (6) <i>Obv.</i> | +ÆTHELRÆDREXANG(lig)LORI. | |
| <i>Rev.</i> | +ÆEL FPIM n OB VCCI | |
| | (a) BM, ex Evans, ex Sweden. | |
| | (b) SHM, Hild. 115. | |
| | (c) K, <i>SCBI</i> 36, ex 1853 Iholm find. | |
| | (d) FEJ, ex Parsons (1954) 165. | [Pl. IV, 6]. |
| | (e) HHK, ex Lockett 700 (ill.). | |
| Wts. | (a) 26.7 gr. (1.73 g.); | (b) 27.6 gr. (1.79 g.). |
| | (c) 26.7 gr. (1.73 g.); | (d) 26.0 gr. (1.68 g.); (e) 26.7 gr. (1.73 g.). |

Moneyer ÆLFWARD.

CNUT (1016-1035).

Quatrefoil issue (1017-1023).

- (7) *Obv.* +CNVTREXANGLO (beginning 7 o'clock) [Pl. IV, 7].
Rev. +EL | FPI | RD | BVI
 BM, BMC 493 ('Romney') - ill. Pl. XIX, 7). Wt. 23.0 gr. (1.49 g.).

N.B. Ælfward is the Aylesbury moneyer in this issue, cf. Hild. 4 which also is of this style which is one associated with London.

Moneyer LEOFRIC.

- (8) *Obv.* +CNVTREXANGLO(lig)X.
Rev. +LE | OFR | ICM | BVC
 (a) SHM, Hild. 114. [Pl. IV, 8]
 (b) K, SCBI 120, ex 1859 Kelstrup find.
 Wts. (a) 9.5 gr. (0.62 g.); (b) 19.3 gr. (1.25 g.).

N.B. The style of these coins is one associated with East Anglia.

- (9) *Obv.* +CNVTREXANGLO RV [Pl. IV, 9].
Rev. +LE | OFR | ICB | VCI
 SHM, Inv. 5804/21. Wt. 9.3 gr. (0.60 g.).

N.B. This obverse, and the four that follow, are of a style peculiar to the general area of Oxford.

- (10) *Obv.* +CNVTR——LOR. [Pl. IV, 10].
Rev. + — | — FR | ICB | RVC
 SHM, Hild. 115. Fragment.

N.B. The mint signature BRVC should indicate Bristol, but is more probably a blundering of the dittography BBVC. Leofric is not known for Bristol, the style of the coin points to the area of Oxford and the coins that follow evidence a remarkable progressive deterioration in the mint-signature.

- (11) *Obv.* +CNVTREXANGLO V [Pl. IV, 11].
Rev. +LE | OFR | ICM | BVH
 SHM, 16925/625. Wt. 16.1 gr. (1.04 g.).
- (12) *Obv.* +CNVTREXANGLO RV
Rev. +LE | OFR | ICM | B(or D ?) VH
 (a) SHM, Inv. 5804/37. [Pl. IV, 12].
 (b) K, SCBI, 121, Bruun Gift 37.
 Wts. (a) 14.9 gr. (0.97 g.); (b) 15.0 gr. (0.98 g.).
- (13) *Obv.* +CNVTREXANGLO V [Pl. IV, 13].
Rev. +LEO | OFR | ICM | DVH
 SHM, Hild. 361 ('Dunwich').

N.B. The attribution of this coin to Dunwich, a 'mythical mint', was rejected as early as 1958 (cf. SNC 1958, p. 229). Although there is no die link to clinch the argument, Leofric is the Buckingham moneyer in this issue, and the coins listed above not only are consistent in style with Leofric coins certainly of Buckingham, but are of a style found otherwise to predominate only at near-by Oxford.

Pointed Helmet issue (1023-1029?).

- (14) *Obv.* +CNV: TREXAN
Rev. +L·EOFR·ICONBVCC·I [Pl. IV, 14].
 (a) SHM, Hild. 116.
 (b) K, SCBI 122, ex Thomsen 9044.
 Wts. (a) 16.7 gr. (1.08 g.); (b) 17.9 gr. (1.16 g.).

Short Cross issue (1029-1035?).

- (15) *Obv.* ———T REC——— [Pl. IV, 15].
Rev. +————CONBVC
 SHM, Hild. 117. Wt. 10.2 gr. (0.66 g.)—cut halfpenny.

Moneyer BRIHTWINE.

HAROLD I (1035-1040).

Jewel Cross Issue (1035-1037?).

- (16) *Obv.* +HARO LDREX
Rev. +BRIHTPINEONBV
 (a) SHM, Hild. 37. [Pl. IV, 16].
 (b) K, ex 1943 Haagerup Find.
 Wts. (a) 17.6 gr. (1.14 g.); (b) 17.3 gr. (1.12 g.).

Moneyer LEOFWINE*Fleur-de-lis issue* (1037-1040?).

- (17) *Obv.* +HARO: LDREX [Pl. IV, 17].
Rev. +LE | OFF | INEO | NBV:
 SHM, Hild. 38. Wt. 15.9 gr. (1.03 g.).

HARTHACNUT (1040-1042).

Arm-and-sceptre issue (1040-1042?).

- (18) *Obv.* ———R: DA———— [Pl. IV, 18].
Rev. —————NEONBVCIN
 SHM, Hild. 10. Large fragment.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR (1042-1066).

Pax issue (1042-1044?).

- (19) *Obv.* +EDPERD REXA: [Pl. IV, 19].
Rev. +LE | OFF | INE | OBV
 SHM, Hild. 27. Wt. 17.1 gr. (1.11 g.).

Radiate/small cross issue (1044-1046?).

- (20) *Obv.* +EDPER DREXA [Pl. IV, 20].
Rev. +LEOFINEONBVCII
 SHM, Inv. 14091/705 (Stora Sojdeby find). Wt. 18.5 gr. (1.20 g.).

Trefoil-quadrilateral issue (1046-1048?).

- (21) *Obv.* +EDRE REXA [Pl. IV, 21].
Rev. +LEOFINEONBVCIN:
 K, ex 1927, Kirke Væriðse find. Wt. 13.6 gr. (0.88 g.).

Expanding cross issue (1050-1053?).

- (22) *Obv.* +EDPE RDRE [Pl. IV, 22].
Rev. +LIFFINEONBVCICN
 A ex Carlyon-Britton 695 (illustrated) Wt. not recorded. Unusual work.

Moneyer THEODRÆD*Sovereign/eagles issue* (1056-1059?).

- (23) *Obv.* EADPARDREXANGLO. [Pl. IV, 23].
Rev. +DEODREDONBVC
 GML, ex 1872 Walbrook ('City') find. Wt. 19.8 gr. (1.28 g.).

This coin was exhibited by Mr. Elmore Jones at a meeting of the British Numismatic Society in June 1952, but no detailed listing of the readings of the 21 coins exhibited on this occasion appeared in the *Journal*. Theodred is not otherwise known as a Buckingham moneyer, but BVC is an impeccable if very abbreviated mint-signature, and we are not entitled

to entertain seriously the suggestion that it could be for BRVC (Bristol), it being much more plausible to intercalate a *hapax* at Buckingham, a mint not otherwise known for this and the preceding type, than at Bristol where the pattern of the coinage of a very substantial mint is so much better attested.

Moneyer ÆSTAN (Æthelstan).

Hammer cross issue (1059–1062?).

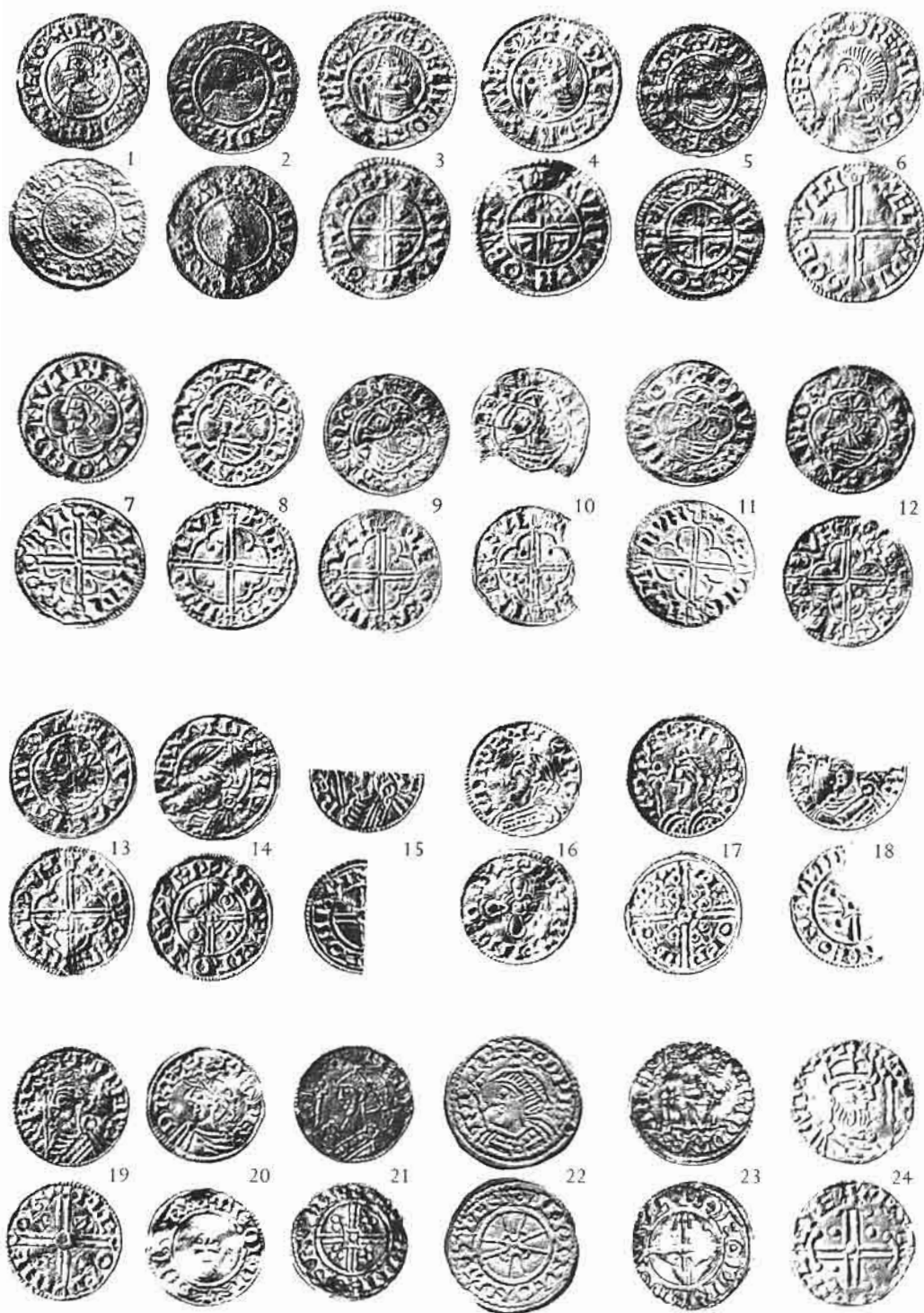
- (24) *Obv.* +EADPA RDRE
Rev. ÆSTANONBVCIÉ (additional pellet in each angle).
 (a) GML, *ex* 1872 Walbrook ('City') find.
 (b) GML, *ex* 1872 Walbrook ('City') find.
 (c) AHFB, *ex* Carlyon-Britton 622 (illustrated), *ex* Sir John Evans,
ex 1872 Walbrook ('City') find
 (d) FEJ, without provenance. [Pl. IV, 24].
 Wts. (a) and (b) 18.0 gr., 17.7 gr. (1.17g., 1.15 g.); (d) 19.1 gr. (1.24 g.).

APPENDIX

Mention should perhaps be made of two coins which in the past have been associated with the Buckingham mint. The first is in the British Museum, *ex* Drabble 442 and there attributed to Buckingham. It was acquired by the Museum as a particularly interesting example of a Scandinavian imitation, the obverse copying with fair success a *Last Small Cross* penny of York, but the reverse, also of *Small Cross* type, exhibiting a completely blundered legend optimistically rendered by the Drabble cataloguer 'TOEHAFBSCIT+EBVFXE (Toenaf fecit?)'. The second is in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow (*SCBI* 1228), and is a perfectly genuine Bristol penny of Harold II on which the reverse legend has been altered by tooling, the mint-signature BVCTN clearly superseding the original BRVCCE. The culprit is almost certainly the notorious White, and the alteration suggestive of the extreme rarity—and hence desirability—of Buckingham coins in eighteenth-century cabinets. There is some evidence, too, that Hunter and Taylor Combe had seen through the deception.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The thanks of the authors are due to a number of museum curators and not only those whose coins are listed above—in an enquiry of this sort negative answers are no less valuable and may involve the curator in as long a search through his records and cabinets. The writers of this paper must also acknowledge their indebtedness to Mr. C. S. S. Lyon who read through an early draft and offered a number of most useful suggestions.



DOLLEY, ELLIOTT, AND ELMORE JONES;
COINS OF THE BUCKINGHAM MINT.

THE ANGLO-SAXON AND NORMAN MINT OF WARWICK

By N. J. EBSWORTH

THE first recorded history of the town was written by John Rous. He was a native of Warwick who resided for many years as Chantry Priest at Guys Cliffe, which is about one mile to the north of the town, during the latter part of the 15th century. Rous died at Warwick on January 14th 1491 and was buried in St. Mary's Church.

Unfortunately the greater part of his writings are lost but one work *Historia Regum Angliae* was published by Hearne at Oxford in 1716, a more complete second edition following in 1745. This work contains a history of the origin of the town; to quote the words of H. A. Cronne, Professor of Medieval History, University of Birmingham, . . . 'we need not linger over the fabulous origins of the town, which are recounted with such charming naiveté and wealth of circumstantial detail . . .'¹ This work does however include a description of the mint and its moneyers which, based upon some early 12th century charters recently transcribed, is extremely accurate.

Rous states:—

'The mint of Warwick was in earlier times at a place towards the East of the churchyard (St. Mary's) as I have discovered in legal writings of the Collegiate Church of St. Mary, Mother of God, where as I knew in my own days was a lane now stopped up and transferred to the south of the churchyard. Also I have often read in writings the names of moneyers lawfully abiding there then and earlier, as Baldred, Everard and other moneyers of the same sort. Their accustomed dwelling place was certainly at the site where the vicars of the College now live.'²

Rous must have been writing of charters dated after 1123 A.D. as the Church of St. Mary was not made Collegiate until that year. This is further confirmed by coins of the moneyer Everard being known for Stephen (1135–1154). The confirmatory charters are mentioned later.

There is no authentic evidence to show that the site of Warwick was a place of importance before Saxon times and the first positive record is for the year 914 A.D. when the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle³ states

'In the year 913, by the Grace of God, Æthelflæd the "Lady of the Mercians" went with all the Mercians to Tamworth and built the fortress there early in the summer, and afterwards that at Stafford before Lammass.

Then in 914 was fortified the fortress at Eddisbury in early summer, and later in the same year, late in autumn, that at Warwick.'

This was one of a series of fortresses built for the defence of Mercia against the Danes. There exists in the castle grounds a mound which bears the name Æthelflæd's Mound but today it is considered that this is not the original fortress but of Norman origin. Although considerable Danish activity was evident in Mercia there is no positive evidence that Warwick was involved until 1016 A.D. when the town was sacked by Cnut on his way north to conquer Northumbria.

¹ *The Borough of Warwick in the Middle Ages* by H. A. Cronne, Dugdale Society Occasional Paper No. 10, 1951.

² Translated from *Historia Regum Angliae* by

John Rous: 2nd edn. Thos. Hearne, Oxford, 1745, p. 194.

³ *The Anglo Saxon Chronicle* ed. G. N. Garmonsway, Everyman's Library, No. 624, 1962.

In 1068 Warwick Castle was founded and Henry de Beaumont entrusted with its keeping. He was created Earl of Warwick shortly after the Domesday Survey. William the Conqueror was in the town in 1068 and the founding of the castle was probably a direct result of the visit. J. H. Round considers that the castle was founded at this date and not just restored, and bases his opinion upon the statement in the Domesday Survey that four houses had to be pulled down to make room for the castle.¹ If this is correct we must look elsewhere for the site of the Anglo-Saxon mint.

The Domesday Survey gives us the first detailed information regarding the town² but, as is so often the case, the information for Warwick is unsatisfactory and provides us with very little idea of its life and activities. It is obvious however that the town was of considerable size as it lists 113 houses of the King and 112 belonging to the Barons. In addition there are a further 23 houses mentioned as being in Warwick but belonging to various rural manors in the county. These are listed, not in the entry for the town, but in the respective entries relating to the manors. Together this makes a total of 248 houses which must imply a population of at least 1,000 people.

Warwick is the only town in the county for which burgesses are listed—22 in all including 3 from rural manors—and whilst no mention is made of its possessing a mint a comparison with the surrounding area shows that in a total of 8 counties 16 towns only are listed as having burgesses and of these 12 are known to have struck coins in the Norman period. Of these 12 only 5 are mentioned in Domesday as possessing a mint and furthermore in the 8 counties there are only two other towns known to have been striking coins during this period. The particulars are shown in Appendix A.³

It has been suggested⁴ that the mint probably dates from the time when the burgesses acquired the right to hold the town by military custom, namely supplying 10 burgesses to the King's army against the Danes, but what weight should be given to this theory is not easy to determine, and the advice of a Domesday specialist would be desirable. If this is correct, however, it would not come under the scope of Domesday for it was one of the privileges of the burgesses. Consequently there would be no record of its contributions in the survey and the creation of the Earldom of Warwick would not disturb these ancient privileges. In other words the King could not grant to the Earl what was no longer his to give.

The history of most boroughs before 1086 is obscure, but whilst the growth of many can be followed from then on Warwick is an exception. There is practically no information about the borough for the whole of the 12th century although it was the shire town. Its importance mainly derived from the fact that the castle was a military centre of the first rank and it seems probable that the town's trade and industry depended very largely upon the needs of the castle.

Mention has previously been made of John Rous and his writings describing the mint and its moneyers. Mrs. D. Styles is currently transcribing some 12th century charters dealing with the foundation and early years of the Collegiate Church of St. Mary, Warwick, and in two cases has discovered moneyers signing as witnesses to documents.⁵

¹ *Victoria County History of Warwickshire*, Vol. 1, p. 277.

² *Domesday Book for the County of Warwick*. Translated by Wm. Reader, 2nd edn, ed. E. P. Shirley, c. 1879.

³ Details extracted from *The Domesday Geography of Midland England*, ed. H. C. Darby and I. B.

Terrett, Cambridge University Press, 1954.

⁴ *A Numismatic History of Henry I* by W. J. Andrew, 1901, p. 444.

⁵ I am indebted to Mrs. Styles for allowing me to quote here from her as yet unpublished research in this matter.

This is of first importance as not only does it confirm Rous' writings but for two moneyers, Everard and Ricard, we have both coins and signature extant. In the case of the other moneyer mentioned, coins are not known but attribution of doubtful pieces can possibly be confirmed if and when they appear.

The charters are:

(A) Register of St. Mary's. Public Record Office. Exchequer. Kings Remembrancer. Miscellaneous Books Series 1. (E.164) Vol. 22.

(A.1) Folio 8 verso and 9.

Charter of Roger, Earl of Warwick (1119-1153) in which he gives Chapel of St. James in pure and perpetual alms to God and the Canons of St. Mary's.

Witnesses include Everardus monetarius

Ricardus monetarius

The probable date of this charter is 1125-1129 A.D., based upon the fact that the gift was confirmed by Bishop Simon of Worcester who was in office 1125-1150 A.D. (Confirmatory charter in same register, folio 13 and 14).

(A.2) Folio 9 verso and 10.

Charter of Robert De Curle granting Budbrooke Church to St. Mary's.

Witnesses include Ricardus filius Badret monatarii

Everardus monetarius

This charter cannot be dated with certainty but it belongs to either Henry I's or Stephen's reign and is therefore before 1154 A.D.

Both the above are 13th century copies of the actual charters and the following extract is taken from an 18th century manuscript now in the Birthplace Trust Library at Stratford-upon-Avon.

(B.) Saunders' Collections relating to Warwickshire. Volume 1, No. 140, pp 129-130.

Charter of Earl Roger of Warwick (1119-1153) in which he grants to the Hospital of St. John in Warwick two houses in Northgate Street, one of which belongs to Richard, son of Everard the moneyer.

Amongst the many witnesses is listed Everard the moneyer.

St. Mary's Church stands at the south end of Northgate Street and on the west side. It is interesting therefore to consider John Rous's statement . . . 'The mint is . . . at a place . . . towards the east of the Churchyard' and conjecture if it was contained originally in the house of Richard. Rous also gives Baldred as a moneyer, relying no doubt on the same source in which he has equated Badret with Baldred, seemingly correctly.

Turning to the coins issued by the mint at Warwick I have listed them under the separate kings. Under each reign any comments of particular interest are included, notably where coins have been re-attributed to Warwick. Also noted are coins that are no longer considered to be of Warwick together with the reasons for the re-attribution where this is not obvious.

The information given for each coin includes:—

(a) Obverse inscription

(b) Reverse inscription

(c) Moneyer

(d) Weight

(e) Provenance.

Although Mr. Dolley in his article 'The Significance of Die-Axis in the Context of the Later Anglo-Saxon Coinage' (*BNJ* XXVII, pp. 167-172) makes a plea that die-axis should

be noted wherever possible, I have not included it here as it has proved impossible to ensure that a consistent method has been employed in the case of coins that I have not been able myself to examine. Consequently rather than include information which is possibly incorrect, in a few cases only it is emphasized, I have omitted this detail.

In view of the fact that Warwick was a comparatively minor mint it has been thought desirable to list every coin that had come to my attention as at 1st April 1965 and has been examined personally or from photographs. This has enabled a pattern of die-links to be drawn up and these are shown on the plates. These throw up some interesting points which are discussed later.

The complete pedigree, where known, of every coin has been given so that its history from find-spot to present day location can be seen immediately. A considerable number of the coins have been illustrated in this *Journal* and various sale catalogues and these references have also been given. With few exceptions none of these particular coins are illustrated here. Abbreviations have been used and I have followed those used by Mr. H. H. King in his articles 'The Coins of the Sussex Mints'. (ref. *BNJ* vol. XXVIII, pp. 60-61.). Some additional ones have had to be used and the complete listing is given in appendix 'B'.

There are a few instances where coins of importance are currently in private collections and the owner wishes to remain anonymous. In these cases I have used the word Private against the coin.

It will be noted that several of the coins from Edward the Confessor onwards originate from English find-spots. These are also shown grouped together in appendix 'C' together with the hoard reference number quoted by J. D. A. Thompson in his *Inventory of British Coin Hoards, A.D. 600-1500*. There are certain tentative references given to coins possibly of Warwick in this book which on present evidence appear incorrect and these are discussed later in the paper.

It appears that the mint commenced operation during the reign of Æthelstan and issued coins more or less continually through to the time of Stephen. There is at least one baronial issue of Matilda that has always been given to Wareham that I consider should be re-attributed to Warwick and the same applies to certain coins issued during the reign of Æthelræd II. These are discussed under the various reigns.

ÆTHELSTAN

Both *BMC* type III coins (Pl. V, 1A.) are from the same pair of dies and all three coins are currently attributed to Warwick on the strength of the floral decoration on the reverse of the type III coins, this form of decoration only being found on coins of the Midland mints. However prior to this both types had a chequered career and although the mint signature *VERI* on the *BMC* type Vc coin (Pl. V, 2B.) could represent Warwick I consider that there are, at the moment, insufficient grounds for positively associating the coins with this mint.

The first mention of the type III coins is in Ruding *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain*. Here one is engraved (3rd edn. vol. 3, plate XVII No. 12) and listed as being in the Tyssen collection. The weight is given as 23.70 grains which is midway between the two coins known today. The coin illustrated is in fact the British Museum specimen which was acquired with the Tyssen collection in 1802. Ruding attributed this coin to Wareham but W. A. Cotton in *The Coins, Tokens and Medals of Worcestershire* states 'Mr Edward Hawkins late Keeper at the British Museum, states that coins of Æthelstan on which the words *VERI* and *WE*

appear have generally been assigned to Worcester. It seems more reasonable to suppose that they were struck at Wareham'. The Worcester attribution is the one given in the third edition of Hawkin's *The Silver Coins of England*, published in 1887 and edited by his grandson R. Ll. Kenyon, but Cotton who was writing two years before this date says 'the present day authorities in the British Museum also attribute the coin to Wareham'.

In the B.M. *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins* (vol. 2, p. 114) H. A. Grueber lists the type Vc coin under Warwick but G. C. Brooke in *English Coins* re-attributes both coins to Wareham without, unfortunately, giving his reasons.

The type Vc coin was first mentioned by Valentine Green in *History and Antiquities of the City and Suburbs of Worcester* (1796) and he gives an engraving of it. Hawkins in his correspondence with Cotton appears to have been influenced in his decision to change his attribution to Wareham by the evidence of the law enacted by Æthelstan at Grateley which assigned a quota of 2 moneyers to the borough. At the time coins supporting this statement were probably not known to Hawkins but we now have coins of type V of the moneyers Wulfsgie and Ælfred. These bear the impeccable mint signatures PERHAM and VVERHA and this, I suggest, must positively destroy any foundation for attributing coins bearing the mint signature VERI to this mint.

Although it has been suggested that the present Warwick attribution should be treated with caution it is the only known town other than Wareham where the mint signature PERI— was used during Anglo-Saxon times. Furthermore it was not unknown for the letter w to be represented by a 'v' on coins of Æthelstan, e.g. coin in the *Fitzwilliam Sylloge* No. 576 with the moneyer's name spelt ÆLFVIENE.

EADMUND

At a meeting of this Society held on the 26th January 1949 Mr. L. S. Forrer exhibited a cast of a BMC type I penny (Pl. V, 3C.) having the inscription:—

Obv. EADMUND REX

Rev. +MONÐ GNM (in two lines, rosette top and bottom).

The present location of this coin is unknown. The moneyer's name would appear to represent MONTHEGN and if this supposition is correct the coin should be bracketed with the coins struck during Æthelstan's reign.

EADRED

No coins of Warwick can be identified.

EADWIG

No coins of Warwick can be identified.

For both these reigns no mint-signed coins of Warwick are known but as probably about 95% of the coins of this period are without mint signature it is possible that some are of the town.

EADGAR

Represented by a solitary coin of BMC type VI, (Pl. V, 4D.) previously unpublished; this is at Stockholm. The moneyer OSWERD is known only by this specimen but the mint

signature is absolutely impeccable. There are charters dated 1001 in which the town's name is spelt WÆRINC WICUM and this particular coin has the signature PÆRINC.

A moneyer of this name is known to have struck coins during the reigns of Eadred and Eadwig and may possibly be the same person. A moneyer OSWARD is recorded for *BMC* type 1c of Eadgar.

EDWARD THE MARTYR

Also represented by a solitary coin (Pl. V, 5E.) which is in the British Museum. The moneyer OSMAER struck coins at Warwick for every substantive type, other than Second Hand, up to and including the Helmet issue of Æthelræd II.

ÆTHELRÆD II

Surviving coins of Æthelræd reflect the expansion and enlargement of the minting system throughout the country, largely no doubt to cope with the need for money to meet the demands of the Viking Invaders. This is well illustrated by Warwick where only one moneyer is known for the first substantive type but a total of four are known to have issued coins of the Long Cross and Last Small Cross types, a number that was never exceeded during the life of the mint.

Coins of Warwick are not known for the First Small Cross, Second Hand, Benediction Hand, Intermediate Small Cross or Agnus Dei varieties but of these only the Second Hand can be considered a substantive type.

The first type known is First Hand of the moneyer OSMAER (Pl. V, 6F & 7G) only. This is followed by the CRUX where apart from a solitary coin of a moneyer LYFINC all the coins were of the same man. The LYFINC coin (Pl. V, 12M) has an almost certain Warwick mint signature, this being PAERI, but a disturbing feature is that the obverse legend ends with the words REX AILO. True CRUX coins invariably end REX ANGLOX and I have been unable to locate a further specimen ending AILO.

The Long Cross issue is represented by four moneyers, OSMAER, ÆTHELRIC, ÆTHELSTAN and BYRHSIGE. Of these ÆTHELRIC is also known for the two following issues and his coins have been attributed to both Warwick and Wareham. His Long Cross coins (Pl. V, 13N) all of which come from the same pair of dies, bear the mint signature PER which could represent either mint and indeed all the coins of this particular issue have to date been attributed to Wareham. However coins of this moneyer are known for both the succeeding types bearing the mint signature PÆRINC which is, I suggest, an impeccable Warwick signature.

The Last Small Cross issue of the moneyer ÆTHELRIC is represented by a solitary coin of the South Western style (Pl. VI, 6F) and is incidentally the only Warwick coin of this variety. Mr Dolley states in his article *Some Reflections on Hildebrand Type 'A' of Æthelræd II* that the dies for this variety were almost certainly cut at Exeter. This might suggest that Wareham was a more likely attribution for this moneyer, were it not that coins of both Leicester and Huntingdon are also known of this style, both being a further distance from Exeter than is Warwick. It seems sensible therefore to place ÆTHELRIC in the canon of Warwick moneyers for all three issues. If this is accepted the following coins need to be re-attributed:—

(a) Hild. 3949.

(b) Stavanger Museum from Jósang, Bokn (Tysvaer) find, Rogaland.

(c) Copenhagen *Sylloge*, 1294 from Enner find, Jutland.

(d) *BMC* 344.

ÆTHELSTAN is known for coins of Long Cross type only but all have an indisputable Warwick signature.

Returning to OSMAER all the Long Cross coins have positive Warwick signatures but for some reason Hildebrand attributed two, Hild. 3957 (Pl. V, 20W) and Hild. 4386 (Pl. V, 17R) to Wareham. Mr. Dolley suggested in *Spink's N.C.* of January 1959 that these should be transferred to Warwick and any doubt as to this postulation is completely removed by an obverse die link between Hild. 4386 (mint signature PAER) and Hild. 3879 (mint signature PÆRINC). In consequence the two following coins should be transferred to Warwick:—

(a) Hild. 3957.

(b) Hild. 4386.

The fourth moneyer known for coins of the Long Cross type, BYRHSIGE, is the most difficult moneyer to place positively in the canon of Warwick names throughout the existence of the mint.

Coins bearing this moneyer's name are attributed to both Warwick and Wareham and from the evidence available it appears likely that there were two moneyers striking more or less concurrently. Coins of the First Hand, Second Hand and Crux were attributed to Wareham and only one type, that of Long Cross, to Warwick.¹ Due to the fact that these four types run in sequence it has been conjectured that they possibly all emanate from the same mint.

The position is that the coins attributed to Wareham, with one exception, bear the mint signature PER, the exception being a solitary First Hand which is inscribed PERHAM. The Long Cross coins, a total of eight all from the same pair of dies (Pl. V, 14.O) bear the mint signature PÆRI.

It would appear therefore that both mints possessed a moneyer bearing this name, but whilst it seems sensible to place the First Hand to Wareham and the Long Cross to Warwick the position is complicated by the fact that moneyers of this name struck coins at two other mints only, Exeter and Barnstable, both being West Country mints.

Unfortunately the BYRHSIGE Long Cross coins of either mint do not die-link with any of Wareham or Warwick and it is therefore impossible positively to allocate these coins to either mint. Based upon the mint signature, Warwick is the obvious attribution but the last letter of PÆRI could be the first stroke of what was intended to be an 'H'. I have however tentatively allocated them to Warwick purely on the basis of the mint signature.

The Second Hand and Crux types could also belong to either mint. I have already suggested that coins of Æthelric bearing the mint signature PER should be attributed to Warwick and on this basis the doubtful Byrhsige should also be placed there. I have however traced coins of Wareham issued during the reign of Edward the Confessor which also bear the same mint name and there is no doubt whatsoever that this attribution is correct. These two types must, I suggest, await more confirmation before being firmly attributed to one or the other but on the present evidence Wareham appears to be the more likely place of issue.

No comment is necessary on the coins of the Helmet issue except to note that OSMAER ceases to strike with this type. Of two coins known of this moneyer one weighs 15.8 grains only which is considerably below the weight standard for the type.

The Last Small Cross issue is represented by four moneyers of which three, WULFRIC, HYSE and LEOFWOLD, are new with the last two only striking coins of this issue. From the

¹ in e.g. Hildebrand, *BMC* and Brooke.

small number of ten coins in all so far traced three distinctive regional styles are represented and both by weight and variation of the normal copulative the coins confirm Mr. Dolley's groupings contained in his paper *Some Reflections on Hildebrand type 'A' of Æthelræd II*. The coins are tabulated below:—

	Coin No.	Moneyer	Regional Style	Copulative	Weight
Pl. VI. 6F.	1	Æthelric	Southwestern	ON	25.0
Pl. VI. 7G.	2	Wulfrie	Northern 'A'	M-O	19.0
	3	Wulfrie	Northern 'A'	M-O	20.4
Pl. VI. 8H.	4	Hyse	Southern 'B'	ON	25.0
	5	"	"	ON	25.2
Pl. VI. 8I.	6	"	"	ON	26.2
Pl. VI. 9J.	7	Leofwold	"	ON	26.5
	8	"	"	ON	26.2
	9	"	"	ON	24.7
Pl. VI. 10J.	10	Leofwold	Southern 'B'	ON	25.5

Hildebrand lists a coin of the moneyer EADRIC (Hild. 689) of the Last Small Cross issue which he attributed to York but which in *Anglo-Saxon Coins* Miss G. van der Meer lists as being probably of Warwick. This is doubtful and Mr. Stewart Lyon has discovered that the coin die-links with Cambridge, Dover and London. If it is in fact of Warwick it would be the only coin so far discovered to die-link with any other mint and I suggest that we do not add this coin to the Warwick mint until more substantive evidence comes to light.

CNUT

Whilst coins are known for the first three substantive types of Cnut and the Quatrefoil issue is represented by four moneyers, only one, WULFRIC, is known for any preceding type. Of the other three moneyers only LEOWIG appears to have struck succeeding issues. The two moneyers known for the Quatrefoil issue only are each represented by two coins, those of ÆTHELWINE coming from the same pair of dies (Pl. VI, 11.K) whilst GODRIC is rather surprisingly represented by different dies for each coin. The GODRIC coins are extremely light in weight, being 10.0 and 15.3 grains respectively (Pl VI, 17.R & 18.S).

The WULFRIC coins include a reverse die having an impeccable Warwick signature PAERIN (Pl. VI, 15.P.) and the same applies to one die of the moneyer LEOWIG (Pl. VI, 12.L) which reads PAERINC. The Quatrefoil coins of this moneyer, with one exception, all bear the name LEOFPI and Parsons lists the name as LEOWINE. However it will be seen from the chart of types and moneyers that this latter name is not to appear again until the Jewel Cross issue of Harthacnut (1035-6) whilst LEOWIG is known for every Warwick-issued type up to the PACX of Edward the Confessor. The latter is therefore almost certainly the Quatrefoil moneyer.

Both Pointed Helmet and Short Cross types are known for three moneyers, LEOWIG, LIFINC and GODWINE. For the latter type there are two coins, from the same pair of dies (Pl. VII, 5.E.) one at Stockholm and the other in Mr. Elmore Jones's collection, with the moneyer's name spelt LEOWINC which I have attributed to LIFINC.

The coins of this moneyer of the Pointed Helmet type are of interest in so far that out of a total of twelve coins known nine use one obverse die and only two are known in all. In three other issues where a number of coins of a moneyer of this name is found the same

feature is apparent. This is shown up on the chart of dies for types and moneyers. There appears to be no logical reason for this and it must be, I suggest, a freak of circumstances.

HAROLD I

For this reign we have two moneyers only, one—LEOFWIG—continuing his activity commenced during the reign of Cnut. The other is GODD or GODA and is known for both issues of Harold I and a unique Arm & Sceptre coin of Harthacnut. He is represented by three coins in each case which in each issue emanate from one pair of dies (Pl. VII, 8.H & 10.J). Fortunately the mint signature cannot be faulted and suggestions made that the coins may be of Worcester can be dismissed. A moneyer or moneyers named GODA or GOD was striking coins at the latter mint during the previous two reigns.

Parsons in vol. XV of this *Journal* lists a coin of the moneyer LEOFRIC for Warwick (p. 43, No. 962) of the Fleur-de-lys type and if he is correct this would, of course, be another moneyer for the type. He lists a total of 8 Warwick coins of Harold I all of which, with this exception, were taken from Hildebrand. Unfortunately he does not give his sources of information and it could be assumed to be a false reading except for the fact that three years later Spink listed a coin for sale having an identical reading. (*S.N.C* 1923, p. 260, No. 18646). This coin has not been located and the possibility of a new moneyer should therefore be treated with some reserve but certainly not dismissed out of hand.

HARTHACNUT

The Jewel Cross issue of Harthacnut is represented by two coins only and both are of particular interest. One has the reverse inscription LEOEPN ON PERNC (Pl. VII, 14.N) and the other SIWERD ONN PAR (Pl. VII, 15.O).

In both cases the mint spelling is new and furthermore, if we can ignore the Parsons suggestion of LEOFWINE being known for coins of the previous reign, so are both moneyers. Siwerd is known only by this coin which appears to be definitely of English origin but the mint signature PAR could represent either Warwick or Wareham.

The Arm & Sceptre issue is represented by several coins and three moneyers all of whom are known previously. One, LIFINC, is represented by a cut halfpenny (Pl. VII, 18.R) and this coin is the first in a series consisting of every type up to the Sovereign type of Edward the Confessor (except for Radiate Small Cross) for which coins of this moneyer exist. A moneyer of this name struck coins of Cnut of the Pointed Helmet and Short Cross types also and, if the same man, represents a working span of from c. 1023 to c. 1059. Alternatively it may be father and son and as coins bearing the same name are known up to William I PACX type it is interesting to conjecture if the total span of approximately 65 years was covered by three generations of the same family.

The moneyer GODA is represented by a solitary coin (Pl. VII, 19.S) at Stockholm and like the coins of Harold I struck by the same man the mint signature is impeccable.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

In the reign of Edward the Confessor we have the most important coin struck during the entire life of the mint and probably one of the most significant coins of the whole of the Anglo-Saxon series. This is of course the gold penny of type *BMC* V (Pl. VIII, 7.G) which

is fully discussed by Mr. Derek Allen in his article in vol. XXV of this *Journal*, 1947, *Edward the Confessor's Gold Penny*.

No specimen has yet come to light from either the same obverse or reverse die. A further five coins of this type and moneyer are known from three pairs of dies and they show a considerable divergence in weight from 16.9 to 26.2 grains.

Each substantive type is represented by at least one coin and in general the coins throughout the reign can be given to Warwick with confidence. There are a few items of particular interest and these are noted below.

(a) LEOFWIG, who was striking almost continually from the Quatrefoil of Cnut, closes his account with the PACX issue of the Confessor.

(b) The moneyer ÆLSIGE is known only by a solitary coin of the Radiate/Small Cross issue (Pl. VIII, 1.A). This coin is in the British Museum and bears the impeccable mint signature of PÆRINC.

(c) Of only two coins of the Trefoil-Quadrilateral type one has the moneyer's signature LYFFE (Pl. VIII, 3.C). This has been interpreted as LYFINC on the strength of a coin of the Expanding Cross type reading LUFFINC. From the table of moneyers it would also appear to be a sensible attribution.

(d) An interesting coin now in the collection of Commander Mack has the reverse inscription +EJEFIRICOEPIEPR (Pl. VIII, 2.B). It is of the Radiate/Small Cross type and does not die-link with any of the other coins of this type. It is tentatively attributed to Warwick on the basis of the mint signature but more positive identification is required before we can put it under this mint with confidence.

(e) The Pointed Helmet type is represented by 3 coins. One, of the moneyer ASTAN is unique and is discussed in *NC* 1960 (pp. 183 to 190). The other two coins are struck by LYFINC. Only one coin was known until recently of LYFINC and this came from the Sedlescombe find and was originally attributed to Reading. Mr. Dolley in vol. XXX of this *Journal* (1960, pp. 74-5) postulated that this coin should be re-attributed to Warwick. At the time the article was written no other coin of this type and moneyer was known and indeed the Sedlescombe coin was re-attributed on purely instinctive grounds to Warwick as it disappeared during the latter half of last century.

In 1964 Miss G. van der Meer brought to my notice a coin from the Stora Sojdeby hoard that entirely corroborates Mr. Dolley's attribution (Pl. VIII, 14.M). Indeed the reverse reading is identical to that given, including stops, and if the Sedlescombe coin re-appears it will probably prove to be from the same pair of dies.

(f) The Sovereign type coin of the moneyer THURCIL is the first issue struck by him and is one of only two coins of the type known for Warwick. Its existence in a minor museum such as Stow-on-the-Wold is indicative of the considerable amount of important material still to be discovered in minor collections.¹

(g) The Facing-Small Cross type is represented by a unique coin of WULFWINE in the British Museum (Pl. VIII, 20.S). It is listed in the B.M. *Catalogue* under Wallingford but is re-attributed by Mr. Elmore Jones to Warwick. Whilst the mint signature PEA is not in itself absolutely definite, and indeed different to any previously recorded, the Warwick attribution can be positively determined by the pattern of the succeeding issues, both as regards moneyer and mint signature. The variety of mint signature, particularly during

¹ The coin was first published by Mr. Dolley in the *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 1964.

the period from Edward's Facing-Small Cross type to William I's Two Star type, is vividly illustrated in the following list which gives all the readings on coins of Warwick so far recorded.

<i>Reign</i>	<i>BMC type</i>	<i>Reverse reading</i>	
Edward the Confessor	XIII	PULFPINE ON PEA	Pl. VIII, 20.S.
	XV	PULFPINE ON PEAR	Pl. IX, 1.A.
		DEODRIC ON PAER	Pl. VIII, 23.U.
		DURCIL ON PAERI	Pl. VIII, 21.T. 22.T
Harold II.	I	DURCIL ON PEARPI	
		LYFINC ON PEARP	Pl. IX, 2. B.
		WULFWINE ON PEI	Pl. IX, 3.C.
William I.	I	DURCIL ON PAERING	
	II	PULFWINE ON PERPC	Pl. IX, 6.F.
	III	DURCIL ON PERINC	Pl. IX, 7.G.
	IV	LYFFINC ON PIERI	Pl. IX, 8.H.
	V	DURCIL ON PERIC	Pl. IX, 9.K.
		PULFPIGE ON PERIC	Pl. IX, 9.M.
		DURCIL ON PIER	Pl. IX, 9.L.
		LYFIC ON PERNIC	Pl. IX, 9.I.
		LYFIC ON PERICPIC	

(h) The five coins of the Pyramids type include the unique coin of THEODRIC in the British Museum (*BMC* 1271, ex Chancton find of 1866), three coins of THURCIL from the Harewood find (*NC* 1959, pp. 187-192) and an unpublished coin of WULFWINE in Mr. Elmore Jones's collection.

HAROLD II

3 moneyers are known for the reign and all struck during the preceding reign and except for LYFINC the preceding type. LYFINC's last known type was struck about eight years previously and it could possibly be the son now in operation.

WILLIAM I

Warwick coins are known for six of the eight types of William I, only coins of the Sword and Profile/Cross and Trefoils types being unknown.

Five moneyers are represented, three of whom, THURCIL, WULFWINE and LYFINC, struck coins in the previous reign. Of the two new moneyers LIFRIC and AELRIC the latter is known only for a solitary coin of the PAXS type in the British Museum (*BMC* 1043) (Pl. IX, 11.R) the obverse of which die-links with coins of LIFRIC. Furthermore the reverse die appears to have been modified at an early date as the letters IEL were recut to LIF. Coins from the modified die (Pl. IX, 11.Q) are in the British Museum (*BMC* 1044 and 1045) and it may be that the die was originally incorrectly cut and we can strike AELRIC from the canon of Warwick moneyers. However no less an authority than G. C. Brooke lists the coins to separate moneyers and it therefore seems sensible to accept his opinion.

THURCIL is striking intermittently throughout the reign and his last known type is the PAXS issue. He is first known of the Sovereign type of Edward the Confessor which means that he was operating from c. 1056 to c. 1087.

WULFWINE is known for two coins only, of the Bonnet and Two Stars types respectively, and closes a curious career with the latter issue; he is known from five coins only, each of different issues.

LYFINC ends his career with the PAXS type and so ends a remarkable run of coins struck by moneyers of this name commencing with the CRUX type of Æthelræd II. Over a period of 95 years this name repeatedly appears on the coins of Warwick.

WILLIAM II

Apart from a solitary coin of *BMC* type I of LIFRIC (Pl. IX, 16.Z) all the coins of this reign are struck by new moneyers. Coins are known of the first three types only, the third type being represented by a unique coin of the moneyer GOLDINC (Pl. IX, 15.Y) who also struck both the preceding issues. The other two moneyers are THIDRED and SPERHAVOC who struck types I and II and type II respectively.

From a total of 17 coins known for this reign 12 are known to have originated from the Tamworth Hoard of 1877. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton lists (*BNJ* II, pp. 111ff.) four type I and thirteen type II and fortunately also gives quantities for each moneyer. The details are:—

<i>Type</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>No. of coins listed</i>	<i>No. of coins traced</i>
I	GOLDINC	1	1
	LIFRIC	1	1
	THIDRED	2	2
II	GOLDINC	5	4 + 1 type 3
	SPERHAVOC	3	3
	THIDRED	5	5

In view of the fact that not one coin can be traced back further than the Tamworth hoard and the quantities tally, the provenance of all the Warwick coins of this reign can, I suggest, be given to the Tamworth hoard with confidence.

HENRY I

Warwick is very sparsely represented in this reign, only four types being known plus the unique mule of types V/VI that has a pedigree back to the Tyssen sale of 1802. This coin is struck by the only moneyer surviving from the previous reign, Sperhavoc, and he is also known from single specimens of types I (Pl. X, 8.H) and X (Pl. X, 11.K) both in the British Museum.

Apart from SPERHAVOC, type X is also represented by the moneyer AILWINE (Pl. X, 10.J) who is known only for this issue.

Coins of type XIII are known of two men, GODWINE and RICARD. GODWINE is also known for the succeeding issue whilst RICARD is one of the two moneyers for whom we have documentary evidence also. He is represented by a solitary coin (Pl. X, 13.M) discovered by Mr. F. Banks in the Leeds University Collection.

Finally the last issue of Henry I for which Warwick coins are so far known is type XIV and for this we have three moneyers, GODWINE, EDRED and ESSUWI. The last is known by one coin only (Pl. X, 15.O) whilst EDRED also struck the Watford type of Stephen. The ESSUWI coin is in very poor condition but it has an obverse die-link with one of the GODWINE

coins (Pl. X, 15.P). It is also of interest in that the mint signature is WAR, the first occasion that the initial mint letter is 'w' instead of 'p' although both forms are common in the Warwick coins struck during the time of Stephen.

STEPHEN

For the reign of Stephen coins are known for types I and VII only, the latter being represented by a unique coin of the moneyer EVERARD. This particular coin was advertised in *Spink's Numismatic Circular* of 1939 (pp. 270, No. 82510) as type II but to date no coins of this issue are known.

For type I three moneyers are known, EVERARD, LEFRIC and EDRED, only the last being known for the previous reign. A total of 15 coins of this type have so far been recorded, a quantity exceeded by only three other types throughout the life of the mint. This quantity is entirely due to the discovery of the Watford find of 1818 and the Nottingham find of 1880. Five coins are from the latter hoard, eight from the Watford hoard.

This type is unusual for Warwick in that one obverse die was shared by two moneyers, EVERARD and LEFRIC, and it is noticeable that the reverse dies are not used with any other obverse die.

The type VII coin is discussed by Mr. F. Elmore Jones in his article *Stephen Type VII* in vol XXVIII of this *Journal*, pp. 537-554, and it is a significant stepping-stone to a coin of the same moneyer previously attributed to Wareham. This is a baronial issue of Matilda defaced to read Stephen. The coin is in the collection of Mr. L. Cabot Briggs and is discussed by him in vol. XXIV of this *Journal*, pp. 50-53 (Pl. X, 17.Q).

Mr. Briggs gave the coin to Wareham 'with some misgivings' mainly upon Brooke positively giving other baronial issues with the mint spelling WAR to Wareham (*BMC (NK)* vol 1, pp. cxx and cxxxi). However EVERARD is a definite Warwick moneyer, the mint spelling WAR is known for coins of LEFRIC also and finally a Henry I type XIV coin of ESSUWI with the mint signature WAR has an obverse die-link with a coin of GODWINE that has the mint signature PARPI. We can therefore be positive that in this case WAR can be attributed to Warwick although it can be also of Wareham.

From an historical viewpoint also Warwick has a strong case. Roger de Newburgh was created Earl of Warwick in 1123 upon the death of his father (20 June 1123). Although he witnessed two charters of Stephen at London and Oxford he joined Empress Matilda shortly after her arrival in this country in Sept. 1139. He was taken prisoner at Winchester in July 1141 and exchanged together with Robert, Earl of Gloucester, for Stephen. From then until his death on 12 June 1153 the only knowledge we have is that he went on a crusade, but in 1154 his widow Gundrada, daughter of William, Earl of Warenne, is recorded as having turned Stephen's soldiers out of Warwick Castle and welcomed Henry II.

Historically therefore it appears that the Earl of Warwick was a strong supporter of the Angevins and the issuing of a coin of Matilda could be reasonably expected from a mint already in operation. Added to this is the indisputable fact that EVERARD is a known Warwick moneyer and it seems reasonable that the coin should be re-attributed to Warwick. I have therefore included it in the list of coins of the mint without any hesitation.

Dies and Die-linking

One of the significant aspects of this mint is the complete lack of die-linking between different moneyers throughout the whole of the Anglo-Saxon period. Up to and including

coins of Harold II I have not discovered one single case where two moneyers use the same obverse die.

There is a complete reversal with the Two-Star issue of William I of which a total of seven coins are known from three moneyers. In this instance one obverse die only is used by all three moneyers.

This pattern could have been expected therefore for the PAXS type but in this type, apart from one altered reverse die which can be ignored for die-linking, there is not one instance of the same obverse die being used by any two moneyers. Out of a total of 32 coins recorded for three moneyers, LIFRIC has 10 coins and 2 obverse dies, LYFING 11 and 1 and THURCIL 11 and 1. The altered reverse die is of AELRIC altered to LIFRIC and the solitary AELRIC coin uses one of the LIFRIC obverse dies.

The only issues, apart from the William I type V mentioned above, where two moneyers use the same obverse die are in Henry I type XIV and Stephen type I. In the former one obverse die is used by GODWINE and ESSUWI and in the latter another by EVERARD and LEFRIC.

I have also carried out a small amount of checking with other local mints such as Worcester and Tamworth but have not been able to discover an example of the same die being used at Warwick.

There are naturally several cases where the same moneyer uses a different combination of obverse and reverse dies but the total number of coins of any one type and moneyer are insufficient to draw any positive conclusions. They are recorded below, however, as comparison with other mint data may be of use.

Note—All moneyers for whom two or more coins are recorded are given below.

<i>Reign</i>	<i>BMC type</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>No. of coins</i>	<i>Obv. dies</i>	<i>Rev. dies</i>
Æthelstan	III	MON ÆGN	2	1	1
Æthelræd II	II.a	OSMÆR	3	2	2
	III.a	OSMÆR	7	4	5
	IV.a	ÆTHELRIC	5	1	1
		ÆTHELSTAN	6	2	2
		BYRESIGE	8	1	1
		OSMÆR	8	4	6
	VIII.	OSMÆR	2	2	2
		ÆTHELRIC	4	3	3
	I.	WULFRIC	2	1	1
		HYSE	3	1	2
		LEOFWOLD	4	2	1
	VIII.	ÆTHELWINE	2	1	1
		GODRIC	2	2	2
		LEOFWIG	6	3	4
Cnut		WULFRIC	4	2	2
	XIV.	GODWINE	3	2	2
		LEOFWIG	3	1	1
		LIFING	12	2	3
	XVI.	LEOFWIG	3	2	2
		LIFING	4	2	2
		GODA	3	1	1
Harold I.	I.	GODA	3	1	1
	Vc.	GODA	3	1	1
Harthacnut		LEOFWIG	5	3	3
	II.	LEOFWIG	5	2	2

<i>Reign</i>	<i>BMC type</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>No. of coins</i>	<i>Obv. dies</i>	<i>Rev. dies</i>
Ed. Con.	IV.	LEOFWINE	2	1	1
		LIFINC	4	1	1
	I.	LEOFRIC	4	2	2
	V.	LEOFRIC	4	3	2
		LYFINC	6	4	4
	XI.	ASTAN	2	1	1
		THURCIL	6	1	1
	XV.	THURCIL	3	2	1
	I.	LYFINC	2	1	1
		THURCIL	2	1	2
William I.	V.	LYFINC	4	1	2
		LIFRIC	10	2	4
	VIII.	LYFINC	11	1	3
		THURCIL	11	1	2
	I.	THIDRED	2	1	1
William II.	II.	GOLDINC	4	1	2
		SPERHAVOC	3	3	2
	I.	THIDRED	5	2	2
		AILWINE	2	1	1
	XIV.	GODWINE	2	2	1
Henry I.	X.	EDRED	3	1	1
		EVERARD	9	4	3
	I.	LEFRIC	4	1	1
		EDRED	2	1	1
Stephen	I.	LEFRIC	4	1	1
		EDRED	2	1	1
	I.	EVERARD	9	4	3

Hoards and Find Spots

On the chart (p. 68) I show the actual number of coins known to me as at June 1965. Whilst coins of the Warwick mint are not prolific, it does attempt to indicate the output of coin throughout the mint's history. There must still be a large quantity not recorded, particularly in Scandinavian collections, but nevertheless the chart conforms to the general pattern of known Anglo-Saxon mint output.

There are, at first glance, two rather surprising peaks, these being the type II of William II and the 'Watford' type of Stephen. In both cases however there is a simple explanation for this apparent anomaly. In the case of the William II type II the majority of the coins came from the Tamworth hoard of 1877. J. D. A. Thompson in his *Inventory* lists a total of 13 Warwick coins of this type and of the 12 so far located 8 are definitely from this hoard and I strongly suspect that the other 4 are also.

Turning to the 'Watford' type of Stephen out of a total of 15 coins 5 are from the Nottingham find of 1880 and a further 4 at least are almost certainly from the Watford find of 1818 as they all were in the Rashleigh sale of 1909.

On this chart I have also shown the provenance of the coins as far as is known and have divided them into three distinct groups.

(a) All the coins that are in the Scandinavian collections even if the hoard location is not known. I suggest that we can safely assume that the majority of the coins in this group, with the possible exception of 5 coins from the Bruun collection are from Scandinavian hoards. Included in this group are any coins in British collections known to have been discovered in Scandinavia.

(b) All the coins for which a positive find spot is known in this country.

(c) All the coins in non-Scandinavian collections for which no find spot is known.

For the reigns of Æthelræd II and Cnut the coins from the Scandinavian hoards predominate but these rapidly fall away until they cease midway through the reign of Edward the Confessor. The first known English find spot is of a single coin of the Long Cross issue of Æthelræd II discovered in the Shaftesbury hoard of 1940 (*NC.* 1956, pp. 267-80). Unfortunately this coin cannot now be traced and the only coin with the reverse inscription listed that could possibly be the Shaftesbury coin is the one now in Warwick Museum. However this is highly problematical. The second known English find spot is of a single coin of the Pointed Helmet issue of Cnut which was in the Wedmore hoard of 1853. This hoard also included Warwick coins of Harold I (type I) and Harthacnut (type II) and it appears to be only the second British hoard to include Warwick coins prior to c. 1050. From this date onwards the coins from the Scandinavian hoards cease completely and the British find spots become more pronounced. Out of 24 types from the Expanding Cross type of Edward the Confessor for which coins of Warwick are known there are known English finds recorded for half. It is very interesting to note that the twelve types for which we have no provenance all consist of a single coin.

In appendix C all the known British find spots of coins of the Warwick mint are listed. Certain of the hoards listed by J. D. A. Thompson have been omitted and the reasons are:—

(a) AWBRIDGE (no. 16). A Stephen penny of the moneyer STAN? is listed. It is also suggested that the mint may be Norwich of the moneyer Stanchil as the mint letters ER are legible. I would suggest that it may be of the moneyer Thurstan of York who was known to have struck Stephen type I coins and furthermore Mr. Elmore Jones lists him as a possible type VII moneyer in his article in vol. XXVIII of this *Journal*, pp. 537-554.

(b) LINTON (no. 235). A Stephen type I penny of the moneyer STAN. is listed as possibly being of Warwick although no details of the mint signature are given. I suggest this should be rejected and considered as a York possibility also.

Under the same hoard a Stephen type II of the moneyer ANULF is listed as possibly being of Warwick due to the mint signature reading PER. Apart from the fact that there is no moneyer of that name known for Warwick, I have not been able to trace a single coin of Stephen with this mint signature, all examples having the signature either WAR or PAR. I have therefore tentatively rejected this coin as being of Warwick but cannot suggest a possible location.

(c) SHILLINGTON (no. 330). A very tentative suggestion is made that Warwick may be the mint for a coin of William II of the moneyer DECLIR the mint signature apparently being STEPNE. Neither the mint signature nor moneyer is known and I suggest we can dismiss this from our list of find spots.

Very little information of a positive nature can be drawn from a study of the Warwick coin find spots and perhaps the most significant feature is the indication of the rapid movement of coin throughout the country. Reference has been made by Mr. Dolley in his description of the small hoard of coins discovered at Penrice, Glamorgan, to this feature (*NC.* 1959, pp. 188) and this is noticeable with the Warwick coins. In several cases we have records of coins that were deposited within one or two years at the most from the moment of striking and in certainly one instance, that of the Pyramid type of Edward the Confessor in the Chancton hoard, the coins must have been deposited within months of striking.

A further factor that emerges is that in practically every case the coins were secreted when there was general unrest throughout the land, i.e. the Sedlescombe, Chancton and Soberton hoards were all secreted at the time of the Conquest whilst the Beaworth hoard

was deposited upon the accession of William Rufus to the throne. Similarly the Nottingham hoard, estimated to have been deposited *c.* 1141, was probably the direct result of the activities of Queen Matilda's supporters in that area. It may be recalled that Rannulf, the Earl of Chester, sacked Lincoln on the 2nd February 1141 and W. J. Andrew in *The Numismatic History of Henry I* gives an interesting theory of the deposit of this hoard.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This paper could not have been written without the generous co-operation and help I have received from all the owners of the coins listed, both private collectors and Museums. It is not possible to thank all by name but I would like to record the assistance given to me by the staff of the Coin Room of the British Museum and Mrs. Westermarck at Stockholm.

Miss G. van der Meer has brought to my notice many coins of importance and Mr. Elmore Jones's advice has helped me on many occasions. I would like to record a special word of thanks to Mr. Dolley who started me on this project and whose assistance has been invaluable. Finally I would thank Mr. Blunt who has had a material part in turning a series of notes into the final paper.

The extensive illustration of the coins discussed in this paper has been made possible by a contribution towards the cost of the plates of £25 each by two anonymous donors. It is to be regretted that spaces and numbers were reserved on the plates for a few coins of which the material for the illustrations did not arrive in time to be included.

APPENDIX A

<i>County</i>	<i>Town</i>	<i>Mentioned in Domesday</i>		<i>Coins struck in Norman Period</i>
		<i>Book as having</i>	<i>Burgesses Mint</i>	
Warwickshire	Warwick	Yes	No	W.I., W.II., H.I. & St.
Northamptonshire	Northampton	Yes	No	W.I., W.II., H.I. & St.
	Peterborough	No	No	W.I., W.II. & possibly St.
Leicestershire	Leicester	Yes	Yes	W.I., W.II., H.I. & St.
Staffordshire	Stafford	Yes	No	W.I., W.II. & St.
	Tamworth	Yes	No	W.I., W.II., H.I. & St.
	Tutbury	Yes	No	Possibly Stephen.
Worcestershire	Worcester	Yes	Yes	W.I., W.II., H.I. & St.
	Pershore	Yes	No	Ed. Con. only.
	Droitwich	Yes	No	
Shropshire	Shrewsbury	Yes	Yes	W.I., W.II., H.I. & St.
	Quatford	Yes	No	

	Edw. II	Æthelræd II				Cnut.				Har. I.		Harthacnut			Edward the Confessor							Har. II	William I.						William II.			Henry I.						Stephen						
		IIa	IIIa	IVa	VIII	I	VIII	XIV	XVI	I	Vc	Ia	II	IV	I	III	II	V	VII	IX	XI	XIII	XV	II	I	II	III	IV	V	VIII	I	II	III	I	V	VI	X	XIII	XIV	I	VII			
OSMÆR	+	+	+	+	+																																							
LYFING &c			+						+	+			+	+						+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+													
ÆTHELRIC				+	+	+																																						
ÆTHELSTAN				+																																								
BYRHSIGE																																												
WULFRIC						+	+																																					
HYSE						+																																						
LEOFWOLD						+																																						
ÆTHELWINE							+																																					
LEOFWIG							+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+																														
GODRIC							+																																					
GODWINE								+	+																																			
GODA																																												
LEOFWINE										+	+		+																															
SIWERD											†	+		+																														
LEOFRIC												+																																
ÆLFSIE															+	+	+	+																									+	
ASTAN															+																													
THURCIL																		+		+					+		+	+	+		+	+												
WULFWINE																				+	+			+	+	+	+		+	+														
THEODRIC																							+	+	+		+																	
ÆLRIC																																												
GOLDING																																												
THIDRED																																												
SPERHAVOC																																												
AILWINE																																												
RICARD																																												
EDRED																																												
ESSUWI																																					</							

† Coin recorded which I have not been able to trace.

<i>County</i>	<i>Town</i>	<i>Mentioned in Domesday</i>		<i>Coins struck in Norman Period</i>
		<i>Book as having</i> <i>Burgesses</i>	<i>Mint</i>	
Gloucestershire	Gloucester	Yes	Yes	W.I., W.II., H.I. & St.
	Bristol	Yes	No	W.I., W.II., H.I. & St.
	Winchcombe	Yes	No	William I only.
	Tewkesbury	Yes	No	
	Berkeley	Yes	No	Ed. Con. only.
Oxfordshire	Oxford	Yes	Yes	W.I., W.II., H.I. & St.

APPENDIX B.

Abbreviations used in Location

Ashmolean	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
A.H.B.	Mr. A. H. Baldwin.
N.C.B.	Mr. N. C. Ballingal.
Birm. 000	City Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham 3. and accession number.
B.M.	British Museum. (coin acquired since the catalogue).
BMC 000	British Museum Catalogue and number. <i>Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum. Anglo-Saxon Series</i> by C. F. Keary and H. A. Grueber. 2 vols. London, 1887-93. or <i>Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum. Norman Kings</i> by G. C. Brooke. 2 vols. London, 1916.
Bruun	<i>L. E. Bruuns Gave til den Kongelige Mont-og Medaillesamling.</i> Copenhagen. 1928
Cambridge	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
Copenhagen	Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, National Museum, Copenhagen.
N.J.E.	The author's collection.
Glasgow	The Hunter and Coats Collections, Glasgow University.
Guildhall	The Guildhall Museum, London.
Harewood	Earl of Harewood.
Hild. 000	Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm: number in Hildebrand's <i>Anglo-sachsiska Mynt i Svenska Mynt-kabinettet</i> , 1881.
F.E.J.	Mr F. Elmore Jones.
R.P.M.	Commander R. P. Mack
Oslo	Universitetets Myntkabinett, Oslo.
Stavanger	Stavanger Museum, Norway.

Stockholm (Inv. 000)	Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm, number of hoard in the 'Inventarium' of deposits; not in cabinets.
Stow	St. Edward's Hall, Stow-on-the-Wold, Gloucestershire.
Visby	Gotlands Fornsal, Visby, Gotland, Sweden.
Warwick 000	The County Museum, Warwick; and catalogue number.

Other Abbreviations

Argyll	Duke of Argyll.
Hunt	The late B. W. Hunt collection.
P.C.B.	Mr. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton sale, Sothebys.
R.C.L.	Mr. R. C. Lockett sale, Glendinings.
Staunton	Mr. William Staunton, Longbridge, Warwick. A noted antiquarian, b. 1765, d. 1848.
<i>BNJ</i>	<i>British Numismatic Journal.</i>
<i>NC</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle.</i>
<i>SNC</i>	<i>Spinks' Numismatic Circular.</i>

APPENDIX C.

Location of English Find Spots including Warwick coins

<i>Approx. date of deposit</i>	<i>Location of Find</i>	<i>Warwick coins</i>	<i>Inventory Hoard No.</i>
1002	Shaftesbury	Æthelræd II	—
1043	Wedmore, Somerset	Cnut Harold I Harthacnut	374
1065	Harewood, Yorks.	Edward Con.	—
1066	Chancton, Sussex	Edward Con.	81
1066	Sedlescombe, Sussex	Edward Con.	327
1066	London, Walbrook	Edward Con.	255
1068	Soberton, Hants	Harold II.	334
1068	Rotherham, Yorks.	Harold II.	318
1086	Beaworth, Hants	William I.	37
1090	Tamworth, Staffs.	William II.	350
1133	Canterbury	Henry I.	71
1140	Watford, Herts.	Stephen	372
1141	Nottingham	Stephen	295
<i>Doubtful possibilities.</i>			
1110	Shillington, Beds.		330
1140	Linton, Kent		235
1165	Awbridge, Hants		16

		ÆTHELSTAN				
<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Weight</i>	<i>Plate refs.¹</i>	<i>Collection</i>	
<i>BMC type III</i>						
1 +ÆDELSTAN REX	MON DEGN	Monthehn	24.2	V.1.A.	BMC 137 (pl. X, No. 8). ex Tulet, 1786. Southgate, 1795. Tyssen, 1802.	
2 same die	same die	Monthehn	23.0	(V.1.A.)	R.P.M. ex Cuff, 1854-504. Murchison, 1866-258. Bergne, 1873-195. Rashleigh, 1909-254. P.C.B. 1913-378. (pl. XI). Ryan, 1952-756.	
<i>BMC type V.c.</i>						
1 ÷ÆDELSTAN REX TOI BR	+MONDIGN MON VERI 'N's are reversed Reversed 'S' in field.	Monthehn	22.7	V.2.B.	BMC 85. Illustrated 1796.	
EADMUND						
<i>BMC type I.</i>						
1 —EDMUND REX	MOND GNM	Monthehn?		V.3.C.	Exhibited at Brit. Num. Soc. 26.1. 1949 by Mr. L. S. Forrer.	
EADGAR						
<i>BMC type VI.</i>						
1 ÷EADGAR REX ANGLOX	+OSTERD M ^o O PÆRINC(lig.)	Oswerd	22.1	V.4.D.	Stockholm SHM Inv. 16200/4.	
EDWARD THE MARTYR						
<i>BMC type I.</i>						
1 ÷EADFEARD REX ANL(lig.)	+OSNER M ^o O PERIN	Osmaer	18.3	V.5.E.	B.M. ex Montagu, 1895-760.	
ÆTHELRÆD II.						
<i>BMC type IIa. First hand.</i>						
1 +ÆDELRED REX ANGLOX	+OSMÆR M ^o O PÆRIC	Osmaer	26.4	(V.6.F.)	B.M. ex R.C.L., 1960-3728.	
2 same die	same die	„	24.2	V.6.F.	Stockholm SHM Inv. 23040/7.	
3 —ÆDELRED REX ANGLOX	+OSMÆR M ^o O PÆRINC 'N' reversed.	„	25.8	V.7.G.	Stockholm SHM Inv. 21613/5.	
<i>BMC type IIIa. CRVX.</i>						
1 +ÆDELRED REX ANG(lig.)LOX	+OSMÆR M ^o O PÆRI	Osmaer	23.5	V.8.H.	Hild. 3875.	
2 +ÆDELRED REX ANG(lig.)LOX	same die	„	24.0	(V.9.H.)	Warwick 61/1961/A. ex Argyll. Hunt.	
3 same die	+OSMAER M ^o O PÆRIN	„	26.5	V.9.I.	Hild. 3876.	

¹Where plate references are not in brackets that particular die is illustrated. All references in brackets are from the same die as the coin illustrated.

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Weight</i>	<i>Plate refs.</i>	<i>Collection</i>
4 same die	+ OSMÆR M'O PÆRI	Osmaer	24.5	V.(9).J.	Warwick, 46/1960/A. ex R.C.L., 1960-3738.
5 +ÆDELRED REX ANG(lig.)LOX	same die	"	26.8	V.10.(J.)	F.E.J.
6. +ÆDELRED REX ANG(lig.)LOX	+ OSMÆR M'O PÆRING 'N' reversed.	"	24.1	V.11.K.	Hild. 3877.
7 same die	+ OSMÆR M'O PÆRI	"	24.4	V.(11).L.	B.M. ex Evans & Morgan.
8 +ÆDELRED REX ATO	+ LVFING M'O PÆRI	Lyfinc	22.5	V.12.M.	Hild. 3874.
<i>BMC type IVa. Long Cross.</i>					
1 +ÆDELRED REX ANG(lig.)LOX	+ ÆDELRIC MDO PER	Æthelric	26.5	V.13.N.	Hild. 3949.
2 same die	same die	"	26.1	(V.13.N.)	Stavanger. ex Jo'sang, Bokn, Rogaland find.
3 same die	same die	"	27.0	(V.13.N.)	Copenhagen 1294. ex Enner, Jutland find.
4 same die	same die	"	24.6	(V.13.N.)	BMC 344.
5 same die	same die	"	27.3	(V.13.N.)	F.E.J. ex R.C.L., 1960-3747.
6 +ÆDELRED REX ANG(lig.)LO	+ BYRHSIGE MDO PÆRI	Byrhsige	26.9	V.14.O.	Hild. 3870.
7 same die	same die	"	26.9	(V.14.O.)	Copenhagen. ex 'old Collection'.
8 same die	same die	"	26.2	(V.14.O.)	N.J.E.
9 same die	same die	"	25.4	(V.14.O.)	Birm. 104'55. ex R.C.L., 1955-708.
10 same die	same die	"	25.0	(V.14.O.)	Warwick 200/1955. ex Argyll. Hunt.
11 same die	same die	"	24.0	(V.14.O.)	Warwick 61/1961/B. ex Argyll. Hunt.
12 same die	same die	"	26.8	(V.14.O.)	F.E.J.
13 same die	same die	"	24.1	(V.14.O.)	N.J.E.
14 +ÆDELRED REX ANG(lig.)LOX	+ ÆDESTAN MDO PÆRING(lig.)	Æthelstan	24.8	V.15.P.	Hild. 3869.
15 same die	same die	"	27.4	(V.15.P.)	B.M. ex Evans & Morgan.
16 same die	same die	"	26.1	(V.15.P.)	N.J.E.
17 same die	+ ÆDESTAN M'O PÆRI	"	25.9	(V.15.Q.)	Hild. 3868.
18 same die	same die	"	25.5	(V.15.Q.)	Warwick 61/1961/C. ex Argyll. Hunt.
19 +ÆDELRED REX ANG(lig.)LO.	same die	"	24.4	V.16.Q.	Copenhagen. ex Hess, 1891.
20 +ÆDELRED REX ANG(lig.)LO.	+ OSMÆR M'O PÆRI	Osmaer	25.6	(V.17.R.)	Copenhagen. ex Thomsen, 8963.
21 same die	same die	"	26.7	(V.17.R.)	Hild. 3878.
22 same die	same die	"	24.7	(V.17.R.)	Hild. 4386.
23 same die	+ OSMÆR M'O PÆRING	"	26.5	V.17.S.	Hild. 3879.
24 +ÆDELRED REX ANG(lig.)L:	+ OSMÆR M'O PÆRI	"	23.9	V.18.T.	Copenhagen. ex Holsegaard find, 1884.
25 same die	+ OSMÆR M'O PÆRI	"	23.8	V.(18).U.	Copenhagen. ex Tyskegaard find, 1876.
26 +ÆDELRED REX ANG(lig.):	+ OSMÆR M'O PÆRI	"	22.0	V.19.V.	Warwick 61/1961/D. ex Argyll. Hunt.
27 +ÆDELRED REX AN	+ OSMÆR MDO PER	"	24.4	V.20.W.	Hild. 3957.

BMC type VIII. Helmet.

1	+ÆDELÆD REX ANG(lig.)LO	:+ÆDELRIC M'O P.ÆRINC(lig.)
2	same die	same die
3	+ÆDELÆD REX ANGL.	:+ÆDELRIC MŌ PÆRI
4	+ÆDELÆD REX ANGLO	+ÆDELRIC M'O PÆRI
5	+ÆDELÆD REX ANG(lig.)LO	+OSMÆR M'O PÆRIC
6	+ÆDELÆD REX ANG(lig.)L	+OSMER MO PÆRINC

BMC type I. Last small cross.

1	+ÆDELÆD REX ANGLOR	+ÆDELRIC ON PÆRINC
2	+ÆDELÆD REX ANGLO	+PVLFRIC M—O PÆRINC(lig.)
3	same die	same die
4	+ÆDELÆD REX ANGLO	+HYSE ON:PÆRINGPICA
5	same die	same die
6	same die	+HYSE ON PÆRINGPICA:
7	+ÆDELÆD REX ANGLO	+LEOFFOLD ON PÆRINPI
8	same die	same die
9	same die	same die
10	+ÆDELÆD REX ANGL	same die

BMC type VIII. Quatrefoil.

1	+CNVT REX ANGLORVM:	+ÆDELPINE(lig.) ON P.ÆRIC
2	same die	same die
3	+CNVT REX ANGLORV	+LEOFPI M'O PÆRINC(lig.)
4	same die	same die
5	same die	same die
6	+CNVT REX ANGLORV:	+LEOFPI M'O PER
7	same die	(+L)E:OFPI M'O PÆR
8	+CNVT REX ANGLORVI	+LOFPIC ON PÆRIC
9	+CNVT REX ANGLORVM	+PVLFRIC M'O P.ÆRIN

Æthelric	20·7	VI.1.A.	Hild. 3867.
"	22·2	(VI.1.A.)	Warwick 46/1960/B. ex R.C.L., 1960-3742. Bushe, 1960-76.
"	21·6	VI.2.B.	Hild. 3866.
"	23·4	VI.3.C.	B.M. ex Evans & Morgan.
Osmaer	15·8	VI.4.D.	Stockholm SHM 9342/49.
"			Visby. Inv. GFC 9851/53. Ill. in Gotlandskt Arkiv. 1957.
Æthelric	25·0	VI.6.F.	Hild. 3865.
Wulfric	19·0	(VI.7.G.)	B.M. ex Stockholm, 1913-57.
"	20·4	VI.7.G.	Hild. 3880.
Hyse	25·0	VI.(8).H.	Hild. 3871.
"	25·2	(VI.8.H.)	B.M. ex F.E.J., 1953.
"	26·2	VI.8.I.	Hild. 3872.
Leofwold	26·5	(VI.9.J.)	B.M. ex Evans and Morgan.
"	24·7	VI.9.(J).	Hild. 3873.
"	25·5	(VI.9.J.)	Warwick 196/1955. ex R.C.L., 1955-656.
"	26·2	VI.10.J.	Copenhagen. Bought Stockholm Museum, 1854.
CNUT			
Æthelwine	16·2	(VI.11.K.)	Oslo. ex Arstad, Rogaland find.
"	20·8	VI.11.K.	Copenhagen. ex Enner, Jutland find, 1849.
Leofwig	20·9	(VI.12.L.)	Oslo. ex Horr, Rogaland find.
"	22·8	VI.12.L.	Hild. 3572
"	21·7	(VI.12.L.)	<i>BMC</i> 547. ex Southgate, 1795
"	17·6	VI.13.M.	Hild. 3903 supplement. Ill. in <i>Spink's N.C.</i> Jan. 1959.
"	14·0	VI.(13).N.	N.J.E.
"	(chipped)		
"	17·0	VI.14.O.	Hild. 3580.
Wulfric	17·9	VI.15.P.	Bruun 964.

	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>
10	same die	same die	Wulfric
11	+CNVT REX ANGLORVM	+PVLFRIC ON PÆRI	„
12	same die	same die	„
13	+CNVT REX ANGLORV	+GODRIC MO PÆR	Godric
14	+CNVT REX ANGLORVI	+GODRIC MO PÆRII	„

BMC type XIV. Pointed Helmet.

1	+CNVT. REX ANG	+LEOFPIG ON PÆRIC:	Leofwig
2	same die	same die	„
3	same die	same die	„
4	+CNVT. REX AN:	+LIFINC: ON PÆRINC.	Lifinc
5	same die	same die	„
6	same die	same die	„
7	same die	same die	„
8	same die	same die	„
9	same die	same die	„
10	same die	same die	„
11	same die	+LIFINC: ON PÆRINC	„
12	same die	same die	„
13	+CNVT. RECX A:	+LIFNC. ON PÆRINC.	„
14	same die	same die	„
15	same die	same die	„
16	+CNVT RECX AN	+GODPINE ON PÆR	Godwine
17	same die	same die	„
18	+CNVT: REX ANG(lig.)	+GODPINE: ON PÆRI	„

BMC type XVI. Short Cross.

1	+CNVT RECX.	+LEOFPIG ON PÆR.	Leofwig
2	same die	same die	„
3	+CNVT RECX A	+LEOFPIG ON PÆR	„
4	+CNVT RECX:	+LEOFINC ON PÆRI	Lifinc
5	same die	same die	„

<i>Weight</i>	<i>Plate refs.</i>	<i>Collection</i>
20·8	(VI.15.P.)	Copenhagen. ex Enner, Jutland find, 1849.
16·5	VI.16.Q.	Copenhagen. ex Keldstrup find, 1859.
17·9	(VI.16.Q.)	Hild. 3581.
10·0	VI.17.R.	Copenhagen. ex Hess. 1891.
15·3	VI.18.S.	Bruun 963.
17·9	(VI.19.T.)	Hild. 3573.
17·1	VI.19.T.	Copenhagen. ex Siökrona, Helsingborg find, 1883.
17·0	(VI.19.T.)	N.J.E.
17·4	(VI.20.U.)	Bruun 965. ex Montagu, 1895-813.
17·6	(VI.20.U.)	Hild. 3576.
17·5	(VI.20.U.)	B.M.
17·0	(VI.20.U.)	Copenhagen. Bought from Stockholm Museum, 1885.
17·2	VI.20.U.	Oslo. ex Arstad, Rogaland find.
9·4 (cut $\frac{1}{2}$ d.)	(VI.20.U.)	F.E.J.
17·2	(VI.20.U.)	N.J.E. ex Ernst.
17·4	VI.(20).V.	BMC 548 (pl. XIX, 12). ex Wedmore find, 1853.
17·3	(VI.20.V.)	Copenhagen. ex Keldstrup find, 1859.
13·6	(VI.21.W.)	Bruun 966.
15·1	(VI.21.W.)	Hild. 3579.
15·3	VI.21.W.	Copenhagen. ex Enner, Jutland find, 1849.
17·0	VII.1.A.	B.M. ex Evans and Morgan.
17·6	(VII.1.A.)	Hild. 3568.
17·6	VII.2.B.	Hild. 3569.
17·9	VII.3.C.	Hild. 3574.
17·3	(VII.3.C.)	Copenhagen.
17·9	VII.4.D.	Copenhagen.
17·3	VII.5.E.	Hild. 3571.
17·8	(VII.5.E.)	F.E.J. ex P.C-B., 1913-554. Wells.

6	+CNVT RECX A	+LIFINC ON PARI
7	same die	same die
8	+CNVT 'RECX	+GODPINE ON PÆRI

BMC type I. Jewel Cross.

1	+HAROLD REX	+GODD ON PÆRINC
2	same die	same die
3	same die	same die
4	+HAR·OLD RC	+LEOFFIG ON PIRI

BMC type Vc. Fleur-de-lys.

1	+HAROLD REX	+GODA ON PÆRINC(lig.)
2	same die	same die
3	same die	same die
4	+HAR·OLD REX	+LE:OFFIG O PÆR
5	same die	same die
6	+HAROLD REX	+LEOFFII ON PÆI
7	same die	same die
8	+HAROLD REC	+LEOFFIG O PÆ:

BMC type Ia. Jewel Cross.

1	+HARDACNVT RE	+LEOEPN ON PERNC(lig.)
2	+HARDACNVT RE	+SIPER:D ONN PAR:

BMC type II & 'Cnut' type XVII. Arm and Sceptre.

1	+HARDCCNVT(lig.) RE	+LEOPII ON PÆRHICA
2	+CNVT R·ECX A	+LEOPII ON PÆRIN:
3	same die	same die
4	same die	same die
5		
6	———RE	+LIFI— — —ÆRII
7	+CNVT RECX A	+GODDA ON PÆRINC

Lifine	15.3	(VII.6.F.)	Hild. 3577.
"	15.4	VII.6.F.	Copenhagen ex Store Valby find, 1839.
Godwine	18.7	VII.7.G.	Hild. 3570.

HAROLD I.

Goda	17.0	VII.8.H.	Hild. 961.
"	16.8	(VII.8.H.)	Copenhagen.
"	16.3	(VII.8.H.)	<i>BMC</i> 93. ex Wedmore find, 1853.
Leofwig	17.9	VII.9.I.	Hild. 962.

Goda	17.6	(VII.10.J.)	Hild. 960.
"	18.0	(VII.10.J.)	B.M. ex Montagu, 1896-83.
"	16.2	VII.10.J.	Copenhagen.
Leofwig	18.0	VII.11.K.	B.M. ex Evans and Morgan.
"	17.9	(VII.11.K.)	Hild. 964.
"	17.6	VII.12.L.	Hild. 966.
"	16.2	(VII.12.L.)	Copenhagen
"	16.7	VII.13.M.	Hild. 963

HARTHACNUT

Leofwin	15.6	VII.14.N.	Hild. 189.
Siwerd	17.9	VII.15.O.	Hild. 190.
Leofwig	16.6	VII.16.P.	Birm 1527'85-386. ex Staunton, 1885.
"	16.7	(VII.17.Q.)	Hild. 3575.
"	16.8	VII.17.Q.	Bruun 967.
"	16.1	(VII.17.Q.)	<i>BMC</i> 549. ex Wedmore find, 1853.
"	16.6	(VII.17.Q.)	Ashmolean 762.
Lifine	8.6	VII.18.R.	Hild. 3578.
	(cut $\frac{1}{2}$ d.)		
Goda	17.4	VII.19.S.	Stockholm SHM Inv. 14091/699. ex. Stora Sojdebý find.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Weight</i>	<i>Plate refs.</i>	<i>Collection</i>
<i>BMC type IV. PACX.</i>					
1 +EDFARD REX:	+LIFINC(lig.) ON PÆRI	Lifinc	17.3	VII.20.T.	Hild. 740.
2 same die	same die	"	15.3	(VII.20.T.)	Hild. 739.
3 same die	same die	"	17.3	(VII.20.T.)	Copenhagen. ex Haagerup find.
4 same die	same die	"	14.0	(VII.20.T.)	Warwick 46/1960/c. ex R.C.L., 1960-3799.
5 +EDFARD REX:	+LEOFFINE ON PÆR	Leofwine	18.0	(VII.21.U.)	Cambridge 819. ex P.C.B., 1913-593. Young bequest, 1936. Ill. in <i>Fitzwilliam Sylloge</i> , Pl. 26.
6 same die	same die	"	17.2	VII.21.U.	N.J.E.
7 +EDFARD REX:	+LEOFFIG ON PÆRIC	Leofwig	15.4	VII.22.V.	Hild. 750.
<i>BMC type I. Radiate/Small Cross.</i>					
1 +EDPERD REX	+LEOFRIC ON PÆRIH	Leofric	15.7	(VII.23.W.)	Hild. 736.
2 same die	same die	"	17.3	(VII.23.W.)	Copenhagen. ex Tarring, Jutland find, 1830.
3 same die	same die	"	14.2	VII.23.W.	Warwick 61/1961/E. ex Argyll. Hunt.
4 +EDPERD REXX	+LEOFRIC ON PÆRI:	"	17.6	VII.24.X.	Hild. 736.A.
5 +EDPERD REX:	+ÆLFSIE ON PÆRINC	Aelfsie	16.8	VIII.1.A.	BMC 1266 (pl. XXIX-6).
6 +EDPERD REX	+ELJEFRIC CIE PIEPR	?		VIII.2.B.	R.P.M.
<i>BMC type III. Trefoil Quadrilateral.</i>					
1 +EDPERD RE	+LVFFE ONN PÆRIN	Lyfinc?	17.0	VIII.3.C.	Hild. 741.
2 +EDRERD REX	+LEOFRIC ON PÆRI:	Leofric	17.3	VIII.4.D.	Hild. 738.
<i>BMC type II. Small flan.</i>					
1 +EDPERD RC	+LEOFRIC ON PE:	Leofric	17.4	VIII.5.E.	Hild. 737.
2 +EDFARD RC	+LVFINC ON PÆRINC(lig.)	Lyfinc	17.0	VIII.6.F.	Warwick 61/1961/F. ex P.C.B., 1916-1115B. R.C.L., 1955-802. Hunt.
<i>BMC type V. Expanding Cross.</i>					
1 +EDPERD REX	+LVFINC ON PÆRINC	Lyfinc	54.1	VIII.7.G.	B.M.
This is the unique gold penny of Warwick. For full discussion of this coin see <i>BNJ</i> vol. XXV, 1947.					
2 +EDPERD REX.	+LVFINC ON PÆRINCPC:	Lyfinc	25.8	VIII.8.H.	Warwick 61/1961/G. ex Argyll. Hunt.
3 same die	same die	"	26.2	(VIII.8.H.)	F.E.J. ex City find, 1872. R.C.L., 1955-819. Ill. in <i>BNJ</i> vol. XXV, p. 276.

4	+EDPE.RD REX	+LVEINC ON PÆRIN
5	+EDP.RD REX	+LVFFINC ON PÆRI
6		
7	+EDPE.RD REX	+LEOFRIC ON PÆRI:
8	same die	same die
9	+EDPRD REX	+LEOFRICIOC O PER'
10	+EDPERD REX	same die

BMC type VII. Pointed Helmet.

1	+EDPARD REX	+LYFINC ON PERIN
2	possibly as above	possibly as above
3	+EDDA RECX (retrograde)	+ÆS.TAN ON PÆRIN

BMC type IX. Sovereign.

1	+EADPARD REX ANGLO 'N' reversed	+LVFFINC ON PÆRPI: 'N's' reversed
2	+EADPARD REX ANGLOR 'N' reversed	+ÐURCIL ON PERPIC 'N' reversed

BMC type XI. Hammer Cross.

1	+EADPAR RD RE	+ÐVRGL ON PÆRINC.
2	same die	same die
3	same die	same die
4	same die	same die
5	same die	same die
6	same die	same die
7	+EADPAR RD RE	+ASTAN: ON PERIN:
8	same die	same die

BMC type XIII. Facing Bust/Small Cross.

1	+EADPARD RE	+PVLFPINE ON PEA
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Lifine	24.0	VIII.9.I.	<i>BMC</i> 1268. ex City find, 1872. Willett, 1876.
„	17.3	VIII.10.J.	Hild. 742.
„	16.9	(VIII.10.J.)	Ashmolean 856. ex Evans bequest, 1941.
Leofric	26.0	VIII.11.K.	Warwick 46/1960/D. ex R.C.L., 1960-3807.
„	24.8	(VIII.11.K.)	F.E.J. ex Argyll, Dawson.
„	18.0	VIII.12.L.	<i>BMC</i> 1267. ex City find, 1872. Willett bequest, 1876.
„	17.0	VIII.13.(L.)	N.J.E.
Lyfine	21.3	VIII.14.M.	Stockholm SHM Inv. 14091/736. ex Stora Sojdeby find.
„			? ex Sedlescombe find.
Æthelstan			Guildhall. ex City find, 1872. Bailly. Ill. in <i>NC</i> 1960, pl. XIV-11.
Lyfine	21.0	VIII.16.O.	Warwick 46/1960/E. ex P.C.B., 1916-1151. (Ill) R.C.L., 1960-3814.
Thureil	19.0		Stow (Ill in <i>Trans. of Bristol & Glos. Arch. Soc.</i> vol. 83, 1964, pl. II, No. 4).
Thureil	18.4	(VIII.18.Q.)	B.M. ex City find.
„	20.1	(VIII.18.Q.)	B.M. ex Lawrence, 1923.
„	21.0	(VIII.18.Q.)	Warwick 61/1961/H. ex Argyll. Hunt.
„	20.0	VIII.18.Q.	Warwick 199/1955.
„	21.0	(VIII.18.Q.)	F.E.J.
„	21.3	(VIII.18.Q.)	A.H.B.
Astan	20.5	VIII.19.R.	<i>BMC</i> 1269. ex City find, 1872. Willett, 1876.
„	18.3	(VIII.19.R.)	Warwick 46/1960/F. ex R.C.L., 1960-3820. City find, 1872.
Wulfwine	16.4	VIII.20.S.	<i>BMC</i> 1295. ex City find, 1872. Willett, 1876.

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>
<i>BMC type XV. Pyramids.</i>		
1 +EADPARD REX	+ÐURCIL ON PÆRI	Thurcil
2 same die	same die	"
3 +EADPARD REX	same die	"
4 +EADPARD REX	+ÐEODRIC ON PÆR 'N' reversed	Theodric
5 +EDPAR— —	+FVLFPINE ON PEAR	Wulfwine
<i>HAROLD II.</i>		
<i>BMC type I. PAX.</i>		
1 +HAROLD RE+ ANGLO	+LVFINC ON PEARP	Lyfinc
2 same die	same die	"
3 +HARLD REX AN	+FVLFPINE ON PEI	Wulfwine
4 +HAROLD REX ANGL	+ÐVRCIL ON PEARPI	Thurcil
<i>WILLIAM I.</i>		
<i>BMC type I. Profile Cross Fleury.</i>		
1 +PILLELMVS REX	+ÐURCIL ON PÆRINC	Thurcil
<i>BMC type II. Bonnet.</i>		
1 +PILLEMV REX I	+FVLFPINE ON PERPC	Wulfwine
<i>BMC type III. Canopy.</i>		
1 +PILLEMVS REX	+ÐVRCIL ON PERINC	Thurcil
<i>BMC type IV. Two Sceptres.</i>		
1 +PILLEM REX ANG	+LVFFINC ON PIERI	Lyfinc
<i>BMC type V. Two Stars.</i>		
1 +PILLEM REX ANL	+LVFIC ON PERNIC	Lyfinc

<i>Weight</i>	<i>Plate refs.</i>	<i>Collection</i>
21.1	VIII.21.T.	Harewood. (Ill. in <i>NC</i> 1959, pl. XVIII)
20.8	(VIII.21.T.)	Harewood (Ill. in <i>NC</i> 1959, pl. XVIII).
20.3	VIII.22.(T.)	Leeds. ex Harewood find.
19.5	VIII.23.U.	<i>BMC</i> 1271. ex Chancton find, 1866.
20.8	IX.1.A.	F.E.J.
19.0	(IX.2.B.)	Birm. 1527'85-389. ex Staunton, 1885.
21.2	IX.2.B.	<i>BMC</i> 88. (Ill. on pl. XXXII-9). ex Soberton find, 1851
20.4	IX.3.C.	B.M. ex Rotherham find, 1939.
21.4		Glasgow 1213/H. 867. (Ill. in Hun- terian <i>Sylloge</i> , pl. XXXIX, No. 1213)
		Private. ex P.C.B., 1916-1196. (Ill.). R.C.L., 1960-3830. (Ill.).
19.3	IX.6.F.	N.J.E.
18.1	IX.7.G.	Warwick 197/1955. ex R.C.L., 1955- 909. (Ill.). Drabble, 1939-569. (Ill.).
19.0	IX.8.H.	Warwick 46/1960/G. ex P.C.B., 1918- 1850. Wills, 1938-299. R.C.L., 1960-3845.
20.5	(IX.9.I.)	Warwick 61/1961/L. ex R.C.B., Argyll. Hunt. (Ill. in <i>BNJ</i> vol. XII, pl. IV/9).
21.0	IX.9.I.	Warwick 46/1960/H. ex R.C.L., 1960- 3858. (Ill.).

3	same die	same die
4	same die	+LVFIC ON PERICPIC
5	same die	—VRCIL ON PERIC
6	same die	+DIURCIL ON PIER
7	same die	+PVLFFIGE ON PERIC

BMC type VIII. PAXS.

1	+PILLELMR(lig.)EX	+LIERIC ON PEREP
2	same die	+LIFRIC ON PERPI
3	same die	same die
4	same die	same die
5	same die	same die
6	same die	same die
7	+PILLELM REX	same die
8	same die	+LIFRIC ON PERPI
9	same die	+LIFRIC ON PERPIE
10	same die	same die
11	same die	+IELRIC ON PERPIE
12	+PILLELM REX	+LVFINC ON PERI
13	same die	same die
14	same die	same die
15	same die	same die
16	same die	same die
17	same die	same die
18	same die	same die
19	same die	same die
20	same die	same die

Lyfine	20.7	(IX.9.I.)	F.E.J.
"	20.5	IX.(9).J.	N.J.E. ex R.P.M.
Thurcil	18.4	IX.(9).K.	<i>BMC</i> 382. ex A. H. Baldwin, 1913.
"	(chipped)		
"	20.5	IX.(9).L.	Warwick 61/1961/K. ex Argyll. Lawson, 1954-131. Hunt. (Ill. in <i>BNJ</i> vol. XII, pl. IV/8).
Wulfwine?	20.0	IX.(9).M.	Warwick 61/1961/I. ex Argyll. Hunt.
Lifric	21.1	IX.(10).N.	<i>BMC</i> 1048. ex Beaworth find, 1833.
"	21.3	IX.10.O.	<i>BMC</i> 1047. ex Beaworth find, 1833.
"	21.4	(IX.10.O.)	Birm. 150'55. ex R.C.L., 1955-989.
"	21.2	(IX.10.O.)	Warwick 61/1961/O. ex Argyll. Law- son, 1954-196. Hunt.
"	21.1	(IX.10.O.)	N.J.E.
"	21.6	(IX.10.O.)	Birm. 1527'85-396. ex Staunton, 1885.
"	21.2	(IX.11.O.)	F.E.J.
"	20.8	IX.(11).P.	<i>BMC</i> 1046. ex Beaworth find, 1833.
"	20.4	(IX.11.Q.)	<i>BMC</i> 1045. ex Sewening, 1878.
Lifric	21.0	IX.(11).Q.	<i>BMC</i> 1044. ex Beaworth find, 1833. (Ill. in <i>NC</i> 1911, pl. XVII/10).
Aelric	21.4	IX.11.R.	<i>BMC</i> 1043. (pl. XXVI, No. 8).
Lyfine		(IX.12.S.)	ex P.C.B., 1916-1274. (pl. XXX).
"	20.2	(IX.12.S.)	Birm. 1527'85-397a. ex Staunton, 1885.
"	22.2	(IX.12.S.)	Birm. 1527'85-397b. ex Staunton, 1885.
"	20.6	(IX.12.S.)	N.J.E.
"	22.0	(IX.12.S.)	<i>BMC</i> 1050. (pl. XXVI, No. 9). ex Beaworth find, 1833.
"	21.2	(IX.12.S.)	Warwick 61/1961/M. ex Argyll. Hunt.
"	21.1	(IX.12.S.)	Warwick 202/1955. ex Argyll. Hunt.
"	21.3	(IX.12.S.)	Warwick 61/1961/N. ex Argyll. Law- son, 1954-196. Hunt.
"	21.6	IX.12.S.	A.H.B.

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>
21 same die	+LIFINC ON PERIC	Lyfinc
22 same die	+LVFIC ON PERPIC	"
23 +PILLELM REX	+ÐRCIL ON PERPIC	Thurcil
24 same die	same die	"
25 same die	same die	"
26 same die	same die	"
27 same die	same die	"
28 same die	same die	"
29 same die	same die	"
30 same die	same die	"
31 same die	+ÐIRCIL ON PERPI	"
32 same die	same die	"
33 same die	same die	"

WILLIAM II.

BMC type I.

1 +PILLELMR(lig.)EXI	+ÐIDRED ONP(lig.)RPICE	Thidred
2 same die	same die	"
3 PILLELMR(lig.)EX	+GOLDINC ON PERP	Goldinc
4 +PILLELMR(lig.)EX	+LIFRIC ON PRPICE	Lifric

BMC type II.

1 +PILLELMR(lig.)EX	+GOLDINC(lig.) ON PERP	Goldinc
2 same die	same die	"
3 same die	same die	"
4 same die	+GOLDINC ON PERI	"
5 +PILLELM REX	+ÐIDRIED ON PRIP	Thidred
6 same die	same die	"

<i>Weight</i>	<i>Plate refs.</i>	<i>Collection</i>
20·3	IX.(12).T.	<i>BMC</i> 1049. ex Beaworth find, 1833
21·4	IX (12).U.	<i>BMC.</i> 1051.
20·8	IX.13.V.	<i>BMC</i> 1053. ex Beaworth find, 1833.
	(IX.13.V.)	R.P.M.
20·7	(IX.13.V.)	N.J.E.
19·0	(IX.13.V.)	Birm. 1527'85-394a. ex Staunton, 1885.
21·7	(IX.13.V.)	Birm. 1527'85-394b. ex Staunton, 1885.
21·1	(IX.13.V.)	Warwick 61/1961/Q. ex Argyll. Hunt.
21·3	(IX.13.V.)	Warwick 201/1955. ex Argyll. Lawson, 1954-196. Hunt.
21·5	(IX.13.V.)	F.E.J.
21·6	IX.(13).W.	<i>BMC</i> 1052. (pl. XXVI, No. 10). ex Beaworth find, 1833.
21·3	(IX.13.W.)	Birm. 1527'85-393. ex Staunton, 1885.
20·9	(IX.13.W.)	Warwick 61/1961/P. ex Argyll. Law- son, 1954-196. Hunt.
21·1	IX.14.X.	<i>BMC</i> 57. ex Tamworth find, 1877.
21·9	(IX.14.X.)	<i>BMC</i> 58. ex Tamworth find, 1877.
21·7	IX.15.Y.	<i>BMC</i> 55. ex Tamworth find, 1877.
19·4	IX.16.Z.	<i>BMC</i> 56. (pl. XXX, No. 7). ex Tamworth find, 1877.
21·5	X.(1).A.	<i>BMC</i> 161. ex Tamworth find, 1877.
	(X.1.A.)	ex P.C-B., 1916-761. (pl. XIX).
	(X.1.A.)	ex Tamworth find, 1877. Evans. R.C.L., 1958-2895. (pl. VIII).
21·1	X.1.B.	<i>BMC</i> 162. (pl. XXXIII, No. 10). ex Tamworth find, 1877.
21·6	(X.2.C.)	<i>BMC</i> 164. (pl. XXXIII, No 12) ex Tamworth find, 1877.
	(X.2.C.)	ex P.C-B., 1916-1302. (pl. XXX)

7	same die	same die
8	same die	same die
9	+PILLELM REX	+DIDRED ON PER
10	+PILLELM REX	+SPERIIFIIC ONP(lig.)RP
11	+PILLELM RE:	same die

12	+PILLELMR(lig.)E	+SPEHAFOC ONP(lig.)ER
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BMC type III.

1	+PILLELM RE	+GODDINC ON PER
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BMC type I.

1	+HNRIRE+I	+SPERHII-CONP(lig)R
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BMC type V/VI. (mule).

1	+HENRIC:RE+	+SPERHAVOC:ON:PAR
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BMC type X.

1	+HENRICVS REX AN	+AILFINE ON PARP:
2	same die	same die
3	+HENRIC— RE+ ANG	+SPERHAVEC ON PA:

Thidred	20.4	X.2.C.	Warwick 198/1955. ex Tamworth find, 1877. Evans. R.C.L., 1955-1018. (pl. XXIII).
"	17.0	(X.2.C.)	N.J.E. ex Tamworth find, 1877 R.P.M.
"	19.0	X.3.D.	Warwick 61/1961/R. ex Argyll. Hunt.
Sperhavoc	20.6	X.4.(E).	<i>BMC</i> 163. (pl. XXXIII, No. 11). ex Tamworth find, 1877.
"	20.5	X.5.E.	Warwick 61/1961/S. ex Tamworth find, 1877. Evans. R.C.L., 1960-3883 (pl. VIII). Hunt.
"	19.6		Glasgow (Coats).

Goldine			Private. ex P.C-B., 1916-1314. (pl. XXXI). R.C.L., 1960-3890. (pl. VIII).
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HENRY I.

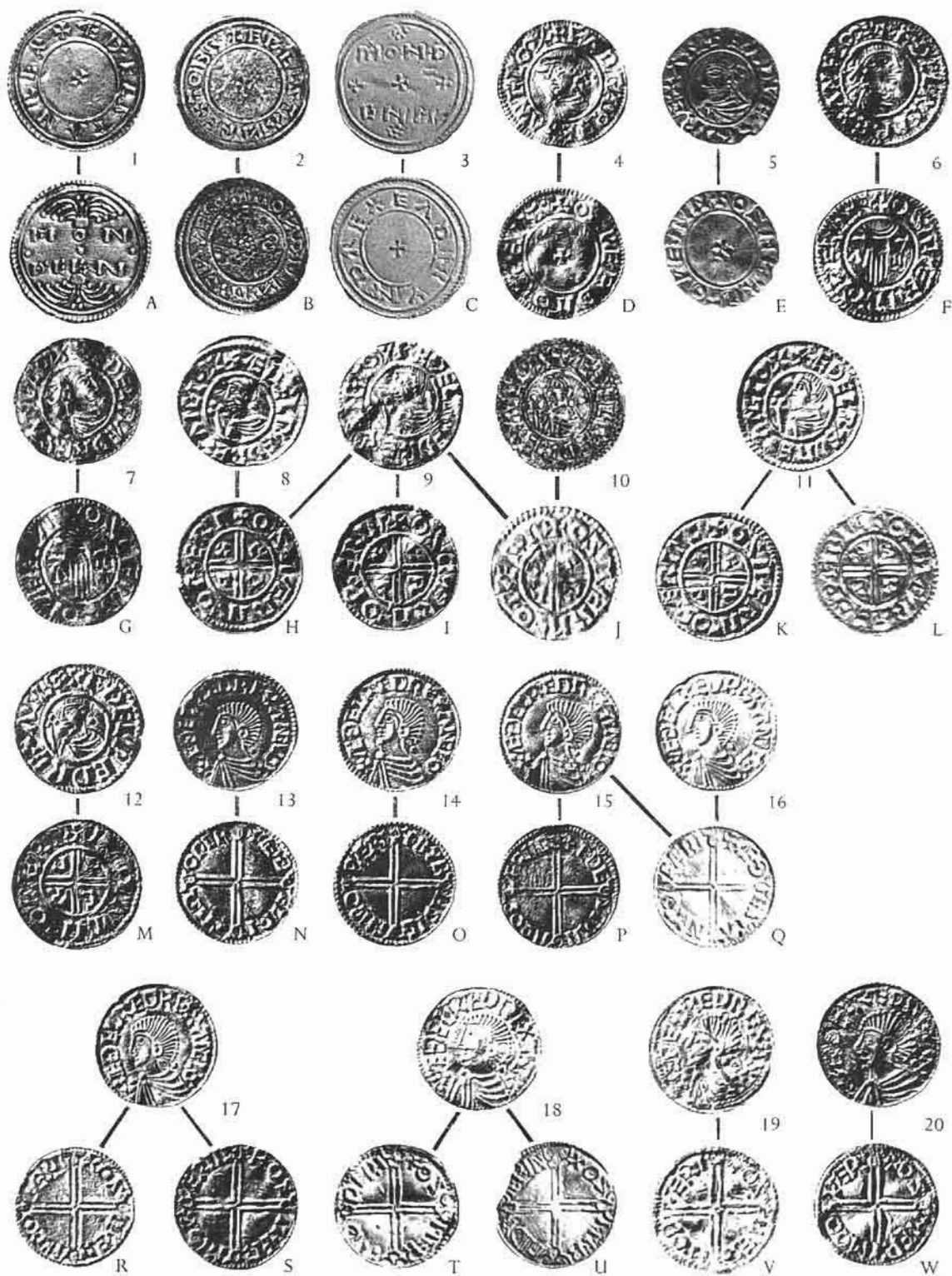
Sperhavoc	22.3	X.8.H.	<i>BMC</i> . 17. (pl. XXXVIII, No. 15.) ex Montagu, 1897-95
Sperhavoc	20.5		Private colln. ex Tyssen, 1802. Cuff., 1854-742. Murchison, 1866-26. Bergne, 1873-329. Brice, 1881. Montagu, 1896-303. P.C-B., 1916-1346. (pl. XXXI). R.C.L. 1955-1054 (pl. XXIV).
Ailwine	16.2	(X.10.J.)	B.M. Found at Colchester. (Ill. <i>BNJ</i> vol. XXVI, pl. A. 8).
"	chipped	X.10.J.	R.P.M.
Sperhavoc	20.6	X.11.K.	<i>BMC</i> 72. (pl. XLII, No. 3). ex Pitt, 1893.

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
<i>BMC type XIII.</i>	
1 +HENRICVS —	+GODPINE:ON:PARPIC:
2 +HENRICVS	+RICARD:ON:PARPI
<i>BMC type XIV.</i>	
1 +HENRICVSR:	+EDREDVS:ON:PARP:
2 same die	same die
3 same die	same die
4 +HENRIC—EX	+ESSV— —:WAR:
5 same die	+GODPINE:ON:PARPI
6 +HENRICVS	same die
<i>BMC type I.</i>	
1 +STIEFNER:	+EVERARD:ON:PAR
2 same die	same die
3 same die	same die
4 same die	same die
5 +STIEFNER	same die
6 +STIEFNE—	+EVERARD:ON:PAR:
7 same die	same die
8 +STIEFNE	+EVERA— —WAR:
9 same die	same die
10 same die	+LEFRIC:ON:WAR:

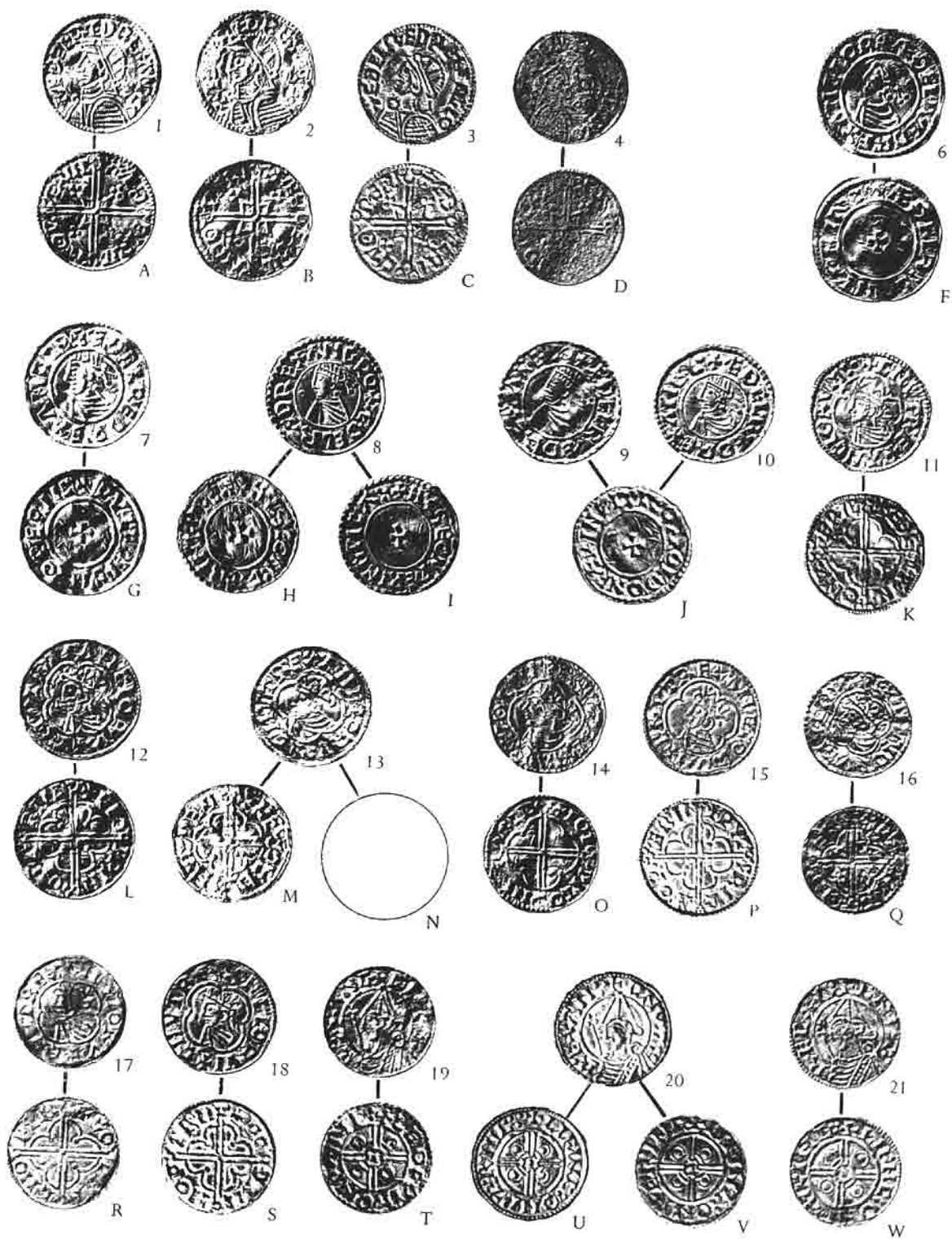
<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Weight</i>	<i>Plate refs.</i>	<i>Collection</i>
Godwine			Private colln. ex Andrew. P.C-B., 1918-1918. (pl. XLI). R.C.L., 1960-3912. (pl. IX).
Ricard		X.13.M.	Leeds University. ex Winchester Cathedral collection.
Edred	21.0	(X.14.N.)	Ashmolean. ex Canterbury find, 1901? P.C-B., 1916- 1419. (pl. XXXIII). Mayne.
"	21.2	(X.14.N.)	<i>BMC</i> 185. (pl. XLVI. No. 11).
"	18.3	X.14.N.	Warwick 61/1961/T ex Hunt.
Essuwi	21.0	X.15.O.	B.M. ex P.C-B. R.C.L., 1958-2937. (pl IX)
Godwine	20.4	(X.15.P.)	Warwick 46/1960/I ex Canterbury find, 1901? P.C-B., 1918-1942. R.C.L., 1960-3916. (pl. IX).
"	21.2	X.16.P.	<i>BMC</i> 186.
STEPHEN			
Everard	21.4	X.18.(R).	<i>BMC</i> 112. ex Watford find, 1818 Rashleigh, 1849.
"	21.8	(X.18.R.)	Birm. 155'55. ex Rashleigh. R.C.L., 1955-1118. (pl. XXVI).
"	19.6	(X.18.R.)	<i>BMC</i> 111. (pl. LII, No. 3). ex Watford find, 1818. Rashleigh, 1909-574.
"	20.9	(X.18.R.)	N.J.E. ex Marshall, 1852.
"	21.3	X.19.R.	Warwick 61/1961/W. ex Argyll. Hunt.
"	21.6	X.20.S.	<i>BMC</i> 112.A. ex Evans. Morgan, 1915.
"	22.0	(X.20.S.)	F.E.J.
"	13.2	X.(21).T.	Nottingham. ex Nottingham find, 1880.
"	13.7	(X.21.T.)	Nottingham. ex Nottingham find, 1880.
Lefrie	12.9	X.21.U.	<i>BMC</i> 112. B. ex Evans. Morgan, 1915.

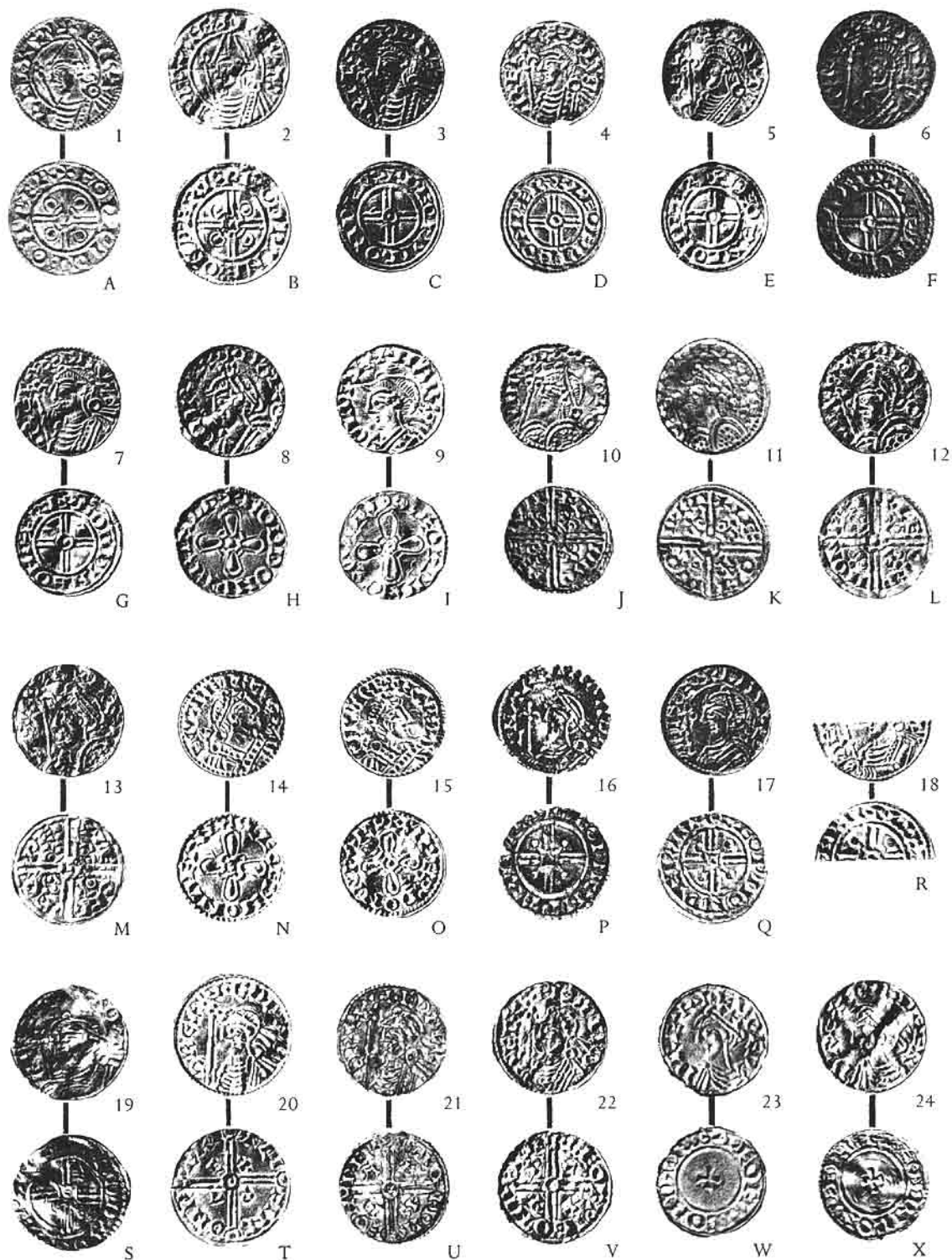
11	same die	same die	„
12	same die	same die	„
13	same die	same die	„
14	+STIEFNER	+EDRED:ON:PARPI	Edred
15	same die	same die	„
<i>BMC type VII.</i>			
1	+SIEFNE	+EVERARD:ON:PARPI	Everard
<i>IRREGULAR ISSUE.</i>			
1	SATPNEREO (over original inscription +MATILDICO)	+EVERARD:ON:WAR	Everard

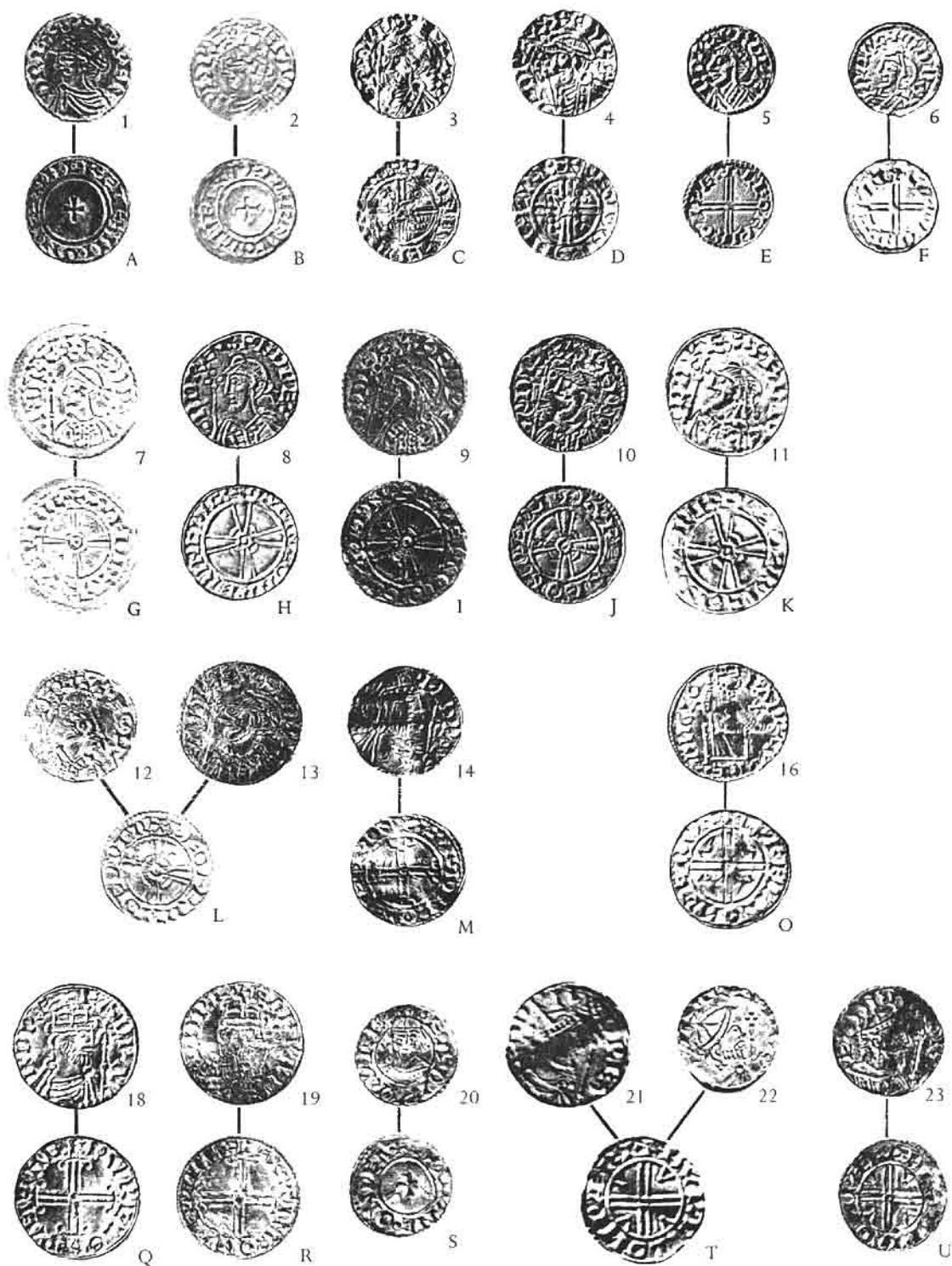
11·8	(X.21.U.)	Nottingham. ex Nottingham find, 1880.
14·2	(X.21.U.)	Nottingham. ex Nottingham find, 1880.
	(X.21.U.)	? ex Nottingham find, 1880. P.C-B., 1916-1493. (pl. XXXIV).
19·7	(X.22.V.)	<i>BMC</i> 110. ex Watford find, 1818. Rashleigh, 1849.
22·1	X.22.V.	Warwick 61/1961/U. ex Argyll. Hunt.
21·5		F.E.J. ex Mills, -424. (Ill. in <i>BNJ</i> vol. XXVIII, pl. XXXI/20).
15·4	X.17.Q.	L. Cabot Briggs. ex P.C-B. (Ill. in <i>BNJ</i> vol. XXIV, pp. 50-53).

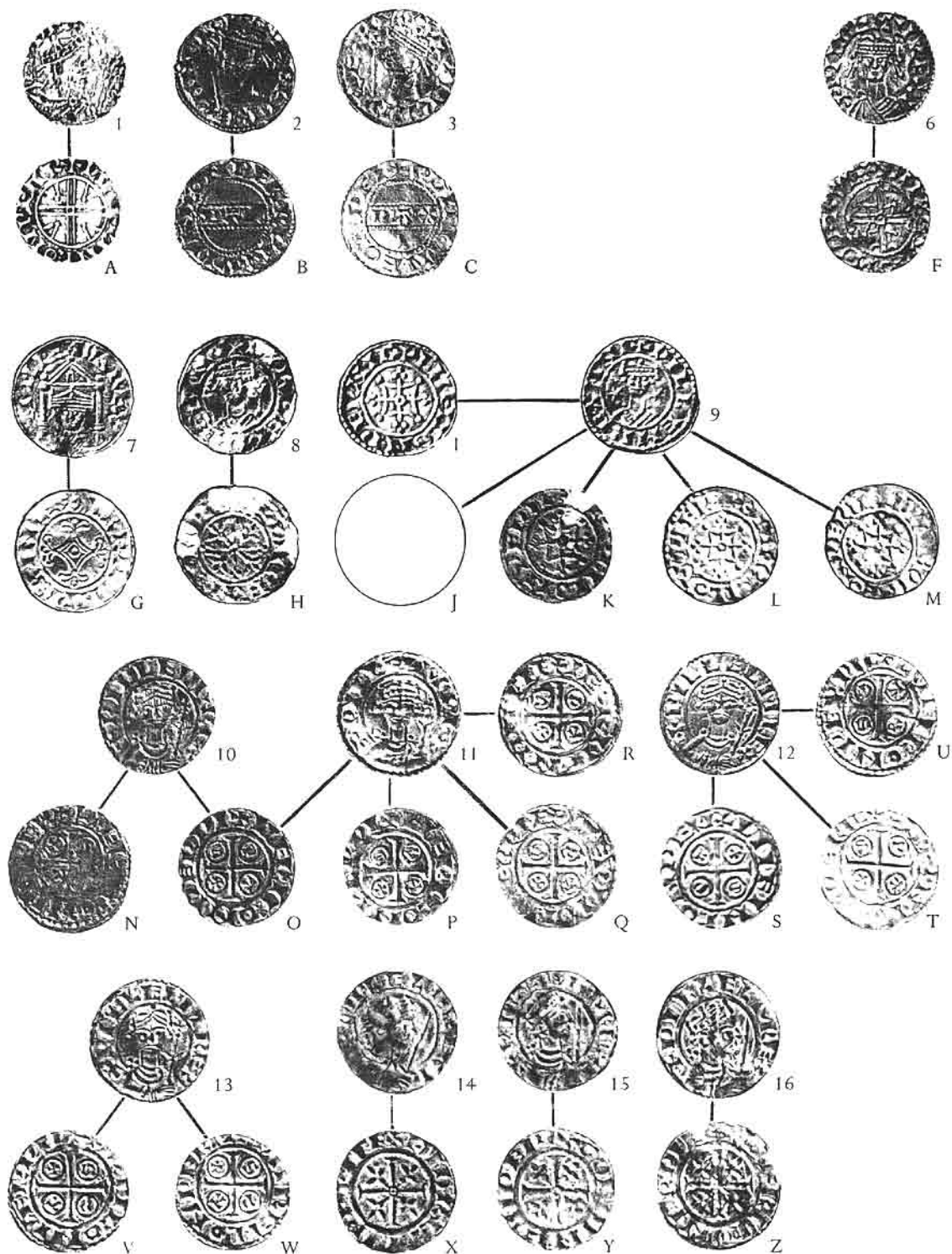


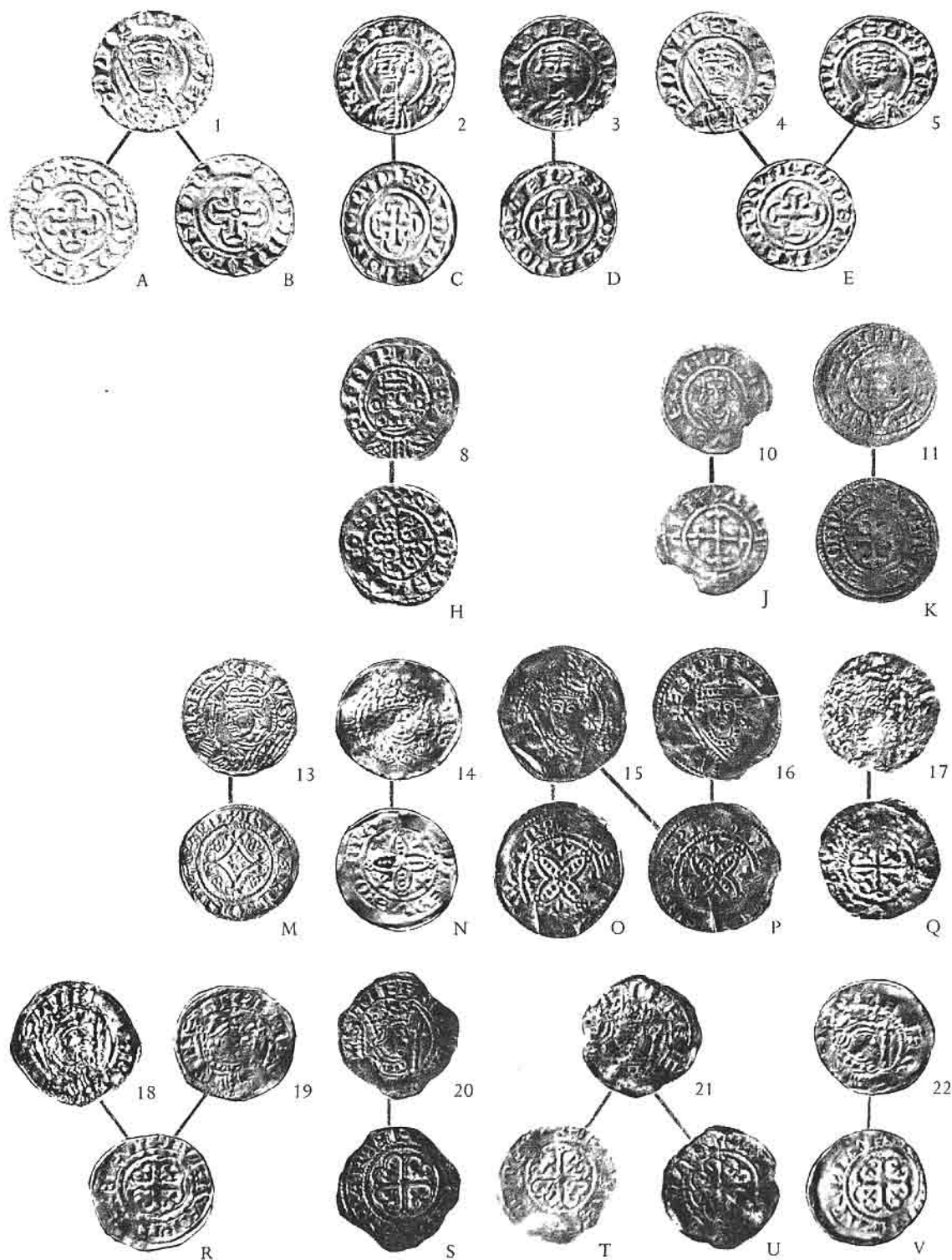
COINS OF THE MINT OF WARWICK I











A WORCESTERSHIRE HOARD OF SHORT CROSS PENNIES

By J. D. BRAND *and* J. D. A. THOMPSON

IN 1962 Mr. G. W. Humphreys presented to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, a group of 48 Short Cross coins, consisting of 42 pennies and 6 cut halfpennies. According to him they were part of a hoard discovered at Crowle near Worcester, and had been in the possession of his family for some years. There does not appear to be any other record of this find.

In the detailed list which follows it should be noted:

- (1) that the under-lining of two letters indicates that on the coin concerned those letters are ligated.
- (2) the weights are given in grammes.

<i>Mint and Moneyer</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Reverse Inscription</i>	<i>Weight</i>	
A. PENNIES.				
LONDON				
1 Fil. Aimer	Ib	+FILAIMER.ON.LVN	1.07	? False. Plate XII.
2 Davi	Ic	+DAVI.ON.LVND	0.96	
3	Ic	+DAVI.ON.LVNDE	1.13	
4 Fulke	IVb	+FVLKE.ON.LVND	1.48	
5 Henri	IVb	+HENRI.ON.LVND	1.11	Bent.
6 Henric	IVb	+HENRIC//N.LND	1.22	Plate XII.
7 Pieres	Ic	+PIERES.ON.LVN	1.12	
8 Raul	Ic	+RAVL.ON.LVNDE	1.23	
9	Ic	+RAVL.ON.LVND/	1.10	
10	Ic	+RAVL.ON.LVNDE	1.41	
11 Ricard	IVa	+RICARD.ON.LVN	1.60	
12	IVa	+RICARD.ON.LVN	1.23	Obv. Double-struck.
13 Stivene	IVa	+STIVENE.ON.LVN	1.07	Plate XII.
14	IVb	+STIVENE.ON.LVN	1.13	
15 Willelm	IIIb	+WILLELM.ON.LVN	1.18	
16	IIIb	+WILLELM.ON.LVN	1.11	
17	IVa	+WILLELM.ON.LVN	1.17	Obv. Curls: 5?/4.
18	IVa	+WILLELM.ON.LVN	1.13	
19	IVa	+WILLELM.ON.LVN	1.06	
20	IVb	+WILLELM.ON.LVN	1.28	
CANTERBURY				
21 Goldwine	IVb	+GOLDWINE.ON.C.	1.43	
22 Meinir	IVa	+M/////ON.CANT	1.53	
23	IVb	+MEINIR.ONCAN	1.38	Rev. Second stop missing. Plate XII.
24	IVb	+MEINIR//N.CAN	1.50	
25	IVb	+M///IR.ON.CA.	1.14	Rev. Stop at end of legend.
26	IV, ?b	+MEINIR.ON.CAI	1.18	Plate XII.
27 Reinald	IIIb	+REINALD.O//CA	1.23	

<i>Mint and Moneyer</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Reverse Inscription</i>	<i>Weight</i>	
28 Reinald	IVa	+REINA//.ON.CA	1.20	
29 Roberd	IVb	+ROBERD.ON.CAN	1.26	
30	IVb	/ / / BERD.ON.CA	1.40	
31 Ulard	IIIb	+VLARD.ON.CAN	1.22	
NORTHAMPTON				
32 Randul	IVa	+RANDVL.ON.NOR	1.07	
NORWICH				
33 Reinald	Ic	+REINALD.ON.NOR	1.18	<i>Rev. Double-struck.</i>
SHREWSBURY				
34 Reinald	IVa	/REIN/LD.ON.S	1.22	Plate XII.
WINCHESTER				
35 Gocelm	Ic	+GOCEL/.ON.WINC	1.09	<i>Obv. Stop between words.</i>
36	Ic	+GOCELM.ON.WINC	1.06	<i>Rev. Last C unclosed.</i>
37 Willelm	IVa	+WILLE/M.ON.WIN	1.42	<i>Rev. Double-struck.</i>
YORK				
38 Gerard	Ib	+/ERARD////EVER	1.45	
39 Hue	IIIb	+HVE.ON.EVERWI	1.26	
40 Turkil	IIIb	+TVRKIL.ON.EVER	1.09	
41	IVa	+TVRKIL.ON//VER	1.20	
42	IVa	+TVRKIL.ON.EV/I	1.09	

B. CUT HALFPENNIES.

LONDON				
43 ?	Ic	———N.LVNDE	0.63	
44 ?	Ic?	———.ON.LVN	0.61	
45 Raul?	I?	+RA———/NDE	0.56	Double-struck both sides.
NORTHAMPTON or NORWICH				
46 ?	III or IV	———I.ON.NOI+	0.68	
WINCHESTER				
47 Gocelm	Ib	———ELM.ON.——	0.72	<i>Obv. + is cross pattée.</i>
48 Adam	Ib?	———\ M.ON.WII——	0.65	<i>Plate XII.</i>

The coin of Fil. Aimer (Plate XII, No. 1), though apparently regular as regards its reverse, shows curious workmanship on the obverse. In particular, the pearls of the crown are annulets instead of pellets, and some of the letters appear to be in outline form only. The appearance is somewhat similar to that of coins subjected to surface corrosion, though in this case the field of the coin has not been affected at all. Some doubt must therefore be cast upon its authenticity as an emission from the regular mint at London, though it is presumably contemporary.

Two of the coins exhibit unusual forms of the letter \mathfrak{n} . One (Plate XII, No. 6) has the second \mathfrak{n} on the reverse double-barred; the mint signature is also irregular, the letter \mathfrak{v} being omitted. The second example (Plate XII, No. 13) has the first \mathfrak{n} on the reverse double reversely barred.

The pennies in this parcel may be summarised in tabular form as follows:—

	Ib	Ic	IIIb	IVa	IVb	TOTAL
London	1	6	2	6	5	20
Canterbury	—	—	2	2	7	11
Northampton	—	—	—	1	—	1
Norwich	—	1	—	—	—	1
Shrewsbury	—	—	—	1	—	1
Winchester	—	2	—	1	—	3
York	1	—	2	2	—	5
	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	2	9	6	13	12	42
	—	—	—	—	—	—

As would be expected, the latest types, of class IV, are in the majority with 60% of the total. The remainder of the parcel however shows a somewhat surprising pattern. There are only two examples (of which one may not be genuine) of the common 'recoinage' type Ib while no less than nine are of type Ic. There are no coins at all of the very rare type IIa nor, more unexpectedly, of IIIa. None of the coins have colon stops on the reverse. It would not be a sound premise to say that because this hoard does not show the pattern the authors expect therefore this parcel must be unrepresentative. Especially as the number of recorded hoards that were deposited at a similar time are very few in number. Nevertheless the tiny percentage of coins of class Ib and the complete absence of pennies of IIa and IIIa must to some extent arouse suspicion that the parcel was not a completely random selection.

The cut halfpennies are excluded from the tabulation as it is very difficult to classify them accurately due to the inevitable complete omission of many features from the part coins. To include them in a summary of sub-types would accordingly give rise to a large proportion of queried figures which would merely serve to confuse the issues. Moreover it seems logical to assume that cut halfpennies, and cut farthings, in circulation at any time would tend to be predominantly of the earlier issues that were still current lawful tender. On the issue of a new coinage and the demonetisation of the old, there would be an inevitable demand for small change and a large number of pennies would be cut to make small denominations. Once a reasonable supply was so formed there would probably be a reluctance to cut up good new pennies for this purpose and if the operation had to be carried out there would presumably be a tendency to use old, worn pennies rather than new. There were five cut halfpennies in the parcel of class I to only one of a later issue, which would tend to confirm this hypothesis.

A close dating for the deposit cannot be made though it must presumably have been within the decade 1195–1204. Class IV was in issue in 1194 (*BNJ XXXIII*, pp. 60–61) and the presence of a penny from the Shrewsbury mint must give a *terminus post quem* of at least that year. No coins of the 1205 recoinage types were present, nor were any of the latest type of class IV, those with the reversed s, so the deposit must have been a year or two at least before 1205. The intermediate issue of class IV, although not clearly datable, must have come at least one or two years after 1194 to allow time for the large number of IVa coins to be struck. The closest dating for the hoard would therefore be 1200 ± 4 .

The weights of the pennies, converted from grammes to grains, may be tabulated as follows:—

GRAINS		Ib	Ic	IIIb	IVa	IVb	TOTAL
14 but less than	15	—	1	—	—	—	1
16 " " "	17	1	2	1	4	—	8
17 " " "	18	—	2	1	1	3	7
18 " " "	19	—	2	2	4	2	10
19 " " "	20	—	1	2	1	2	6
20 " " "	21	—	—	—	—	—	—
21 " " "	22	—	1	—	1	2	4
22 " " "	23	1	—	—	—	2	3
23 " " "	24	—	—	—	1	1	2
24 " " "	25	—	—	—	1	—	1
		—	—	—	—	—	—
		2	9	6	13	12	42
		—	—	—	—	—	—

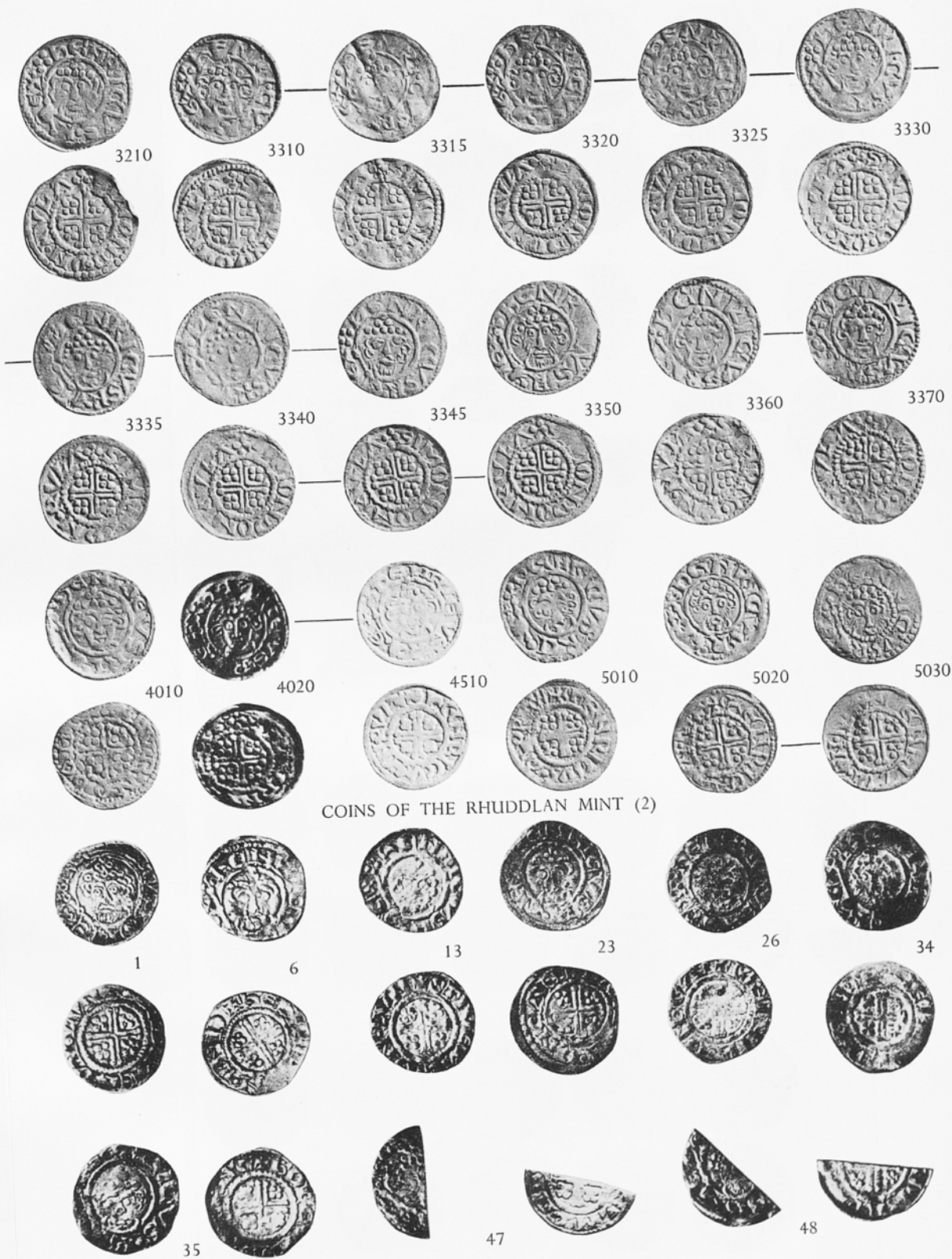
The study of weights in the Short Cross series is not sufficiently advanced to make useful observations on this table. The authors feel, however, that the fact that no less than three-quarters of the coins weigh less than twenty grains is worthy of comment.

The hoard, as expressed in *Inventory* format, would appear as follows:—

CROWLE, Worcestershire, pre-1962

An uncertain number of *R* English pennies and cut halfpennies (48 listed) Deposit *c.* 1200. Short Cross pennies (42) CLASS Ib. *London*: Fil. Aimer, 1 (? False). *York*: Gerard. CLASS Ic. *London*: Davi (2); Pieres; Raul (3). *Norwich*: Reinald. *Winchester*: Gocelm (2). CLASS IIIb. *London*: Willelm (2). *Canterbury*: Reinald; Vlard. *York*: Hue, Turkil. CLASS IVa. *London*: Ricard (2); Stivene; Willelm (3). *Canterbury*: Meinir; Reinald. *Northampton*: Randul. *Shrewsbury*: Reinald. *Winchester*: Willelm. *York*: Turkil (2). CLASS IVb. *London*: Fulke; Henri; Henric; Stivene; Willelm. *Canterbury*: Goldwine; Meinir (4); Roberd (2). Cut halfpennies (6). CLASS I. *London*: 3 (1 Raul); *Northampton* or *Norwich*, 1; *Winchester* 2 (Adam and Gocelm).

J. D. Brand and J. D. A. Thompson in *BNJ* XXXIV (1965), pp. 86–89. Disposition: the above listed coins presented by Mr. G. W. Humphreys in 1962 to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.



THE SHORT CROSS COINS OF RHUDDLAN

By JOHN D. BRAND

ALL coins of this Welsh mint are uncommon. The very rare Norman pennies have previously been discussed by Mr. F. Elmore Jones.¹ In one respect they are similar to the Short Cross issues; they are from irregular dies, presumably of local manufacture.

Several numismatists have, in the past, written on the Short Cross pennies of Rhuddlan and, basing their arguments on doubtful and conflicting historical sources, have put forward almost as many theories as to why and when they were struck. In 1963, however, Mr. R. H. M. Dolley published a new classification of these coins based on numismatic evidence alone.² He divided them into six classes on stylistic grounds and, by utilisation of hoard evidence, proved satisfactorily that they were issued over a comparatively long period of time by the four moneyers working in succession. Examination of a larger number of specimens than was available to Mr. Dolley now enables his classification to be extended, although his basic concept is not altered. A total of 128 coins have been examined and compared for die-identities, and 44 different die-combinations have been found. Two of the coins are so irregular that they can readily be seen to be of 'non-official' origin, if such a term can be admitted in the context of a coinage that is itself wholly irregular. The remaining coins may be divided into eleven groups which form five main classes. In order to avoid confusion with Mr. Dolley's classification, which is so very similar, and also with Dr. L. A. Lawrence's classification of the regular issues, lower case roman numerals have been used to denote each of the main classes now propounded.

There are five principal characteristics, apart from the style of the king's head, which may be observed on the coins as an aid to classification and which may be described as follows:

1. the letter N may be reversed,
2. The letter C may be barred giving the appearance of a letter E,
3. The crown may have an extra pellet in the cross (fig. 2) as compared with the normal issues (fig. 1).



fig 1

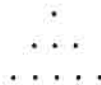


fig 2

4. The formation of the curls of hair may be either (a) small curved strokes as on the early regular pennies (Lawrence classes I-IV), or (b) broken annulets as on the later regular issues (Lawrence classes V-VIII),
5. the initial cross on the reverse may be either pattée or pommée. If the latter, it may have an additional central pellet and/or the bottom pellet may be absorbed in the inner circle.

Within any sub-class these characteristics are constant and are strong pointers to the homogeneity of each class and to the evolution from one class to the next.

¹ *BNJ* XXVIII (1955), pp. 191-195.

² *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, November, 1963, pp. 226-7.

The first coins are those of the moneyer Halli. They are a reasonably close copy of the regular coinage of Lawrence class Ib, and, though the dies were obviously prepared by a different and less skilled hand, they are not without technical competence and artistic merit. It is far more probable that a goldsmith rather than a blacksmith was responsible for their manufacture. Apart from the generally coarser work, two quirks display their irregular source. One is minor: the letter *N* is always reversely barred; a not uncommon failing in irregular issues and not always absent from the official die-cutter's work. The second is distinctive and is the addition of the extra pellet in the stylised representation of the king's crown. Both of these features are constantly and invariably found not only on all the coins of Halli, but also on those of Tomas and the earliest issues of Simond as well. They need not indicate that all of these dies were cut by one man. The probability is that at least two smiths successively prepared the dies during the early period, but it does certainly mean that a local tradition of the design of the coins was instituted and followed.

The second class of coins is very similar to the first and displays the same two quirks with two more added. The letter *C* now has a central cross-bar making it into a letter *E*, and the initial cross on the reverse becomes pommée instead of pattée. The only significance in the latter change would appear to be that it is easier for the die-cutter to make a cross pommée than a cross pattée, though at the end of this class the pattée cross reappears. The earliest coins of the class are also by the moneyer Halli, but the reverse legend is retrograde. There are only two dies with this retrograde inscription and they are found used with three obverse dies. An obverse of class *i*, which is also found coupled with a class *i* reverse, is used with both of the *ii*a reverses. The second reverse die (the sequence being apparent from die wear) is then used with an obverse of class *ii*. It would seem possible that the retrograde legends were the first work of a new engraver, who would not only, if unused to such work, be quite likely to make such an error on his initial attempts, but also there is the fact that from here on the new error is made of *E* instead of *C* as well as the change in the initial cross.

The coins of Tomas, all with the same type of obverse, have been differentiated into three sub-classes by the three forms of initial cross that are found. At first it is a normal cross pommée; secondly a normal pommée but with the bottom pellet more or less incorporated into the inner circle; and lastly, similar to the preceding, but with the addition of an extra central pellet much as in the cross of the crown. No die-links between these sub-classes have been discovered. Their relative order would seem to be established on the grounds of stylistic development: an argument which does, however, have limitations in the context of an irregular coinage such as this.

Simon(d) is the next moneyer. It is possible that his first coins use the same obverse die as one of Tomas's pennies. The condition of the only specimen of the latter is such that the link cannot be asserted unequivocally. What is certain is that two obverse dies used by Simon(d) are identical in style with those used by Tomas. The five reverse dies found in conjunction with them, whilst retaining the reversed *N*, revert to an initial cross pattée.

Simon(d)'s later coins are quite different in style, and may indicate a new die-cutter. The head is obviously modelled on the reform coinage of the regular issues introduced in 1204/5 (Lawrence class V). The main characteristic, apart from the general shape and appearance of the king's head, is the treatment of the hair now represented by broken annulets, and the crown is the normal eight pellet type. The letter *N* is correctly barred and the letter *C* correctly formed. The initial cross however reverts once again to pommée. Two obverse dies display transitional features: one retains the curious formation of the crown

with the extra pellet but uses the new style curls; the other retains the old type curls but uses the new, normal, crown. It may be supposed that these two dies represent the earliest work of the new engraver. A feature of this section of the Rhuddlan series is one obverse die that has been re-cut, or 'touched up', at least twice and is used with a whole series of reverses. Some of these reverses are so similar to one another that the minute differences might possibly in some cases also be due to re-cutting. Another feature of this group is the apparently indiscriminate occasional omission of the pellet stops between the words on the reverse.

The last coins of, what is presumed to be, this same moneyer—now spelt Simod—are again quite different in style from their predecessors. The execution of the dies is much cruder than before, though very obviously based on a Lawrence class V model. There are two obverse dies. On both the letter c once more has a central cross-bar, and, on one only, the letter n is reversed. There are also two reverses on both of which the legend is retrograde but the individual letters are not reversed. One of the obverse dies is also used in conjunction with a reverse of the final moneyer, Henricus. The other coins of Henricus are from three obverse dies and two reverse dies, all of which are very crude in execution. The initial cross is pattée.

The proposed classification of the Rhuddlan pennies may be summarised as follows, the five main variable characteristics being tabulated:

<i>Class</i>	<i>Description and Moneyer</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>Crown</i>	<i>Curls</i>	<i>Cross</i>
<i>i</i>	Head similar to Lawrence Class I, but face tends to be broader. Halli	Reversed	c	2	a	pattée
<i>ii</i>	Head similar to Class i, but becoming coarser and with fewer curls to look more like Lawrence Class III. Halli (reverse legend retrograde)	Reversed	e	2	a	
a	Tomas					pommée
b	Tomas (bottom pellet of cross on inner circle)					pommée
c	Tomas (ditto, with additional central pellet)					pommée
d	Simon(d)					pattée
<i>iii</i>	Head based on Lawrence Class V. Simon	Normal	c			pommée
a	Simond			2	b	
b	Simon(d)			1	a	
c				1	b	
<i>iv</i>	Distinctive head, also based on Lawrence Class V. Simod (reverse legend retrograde)	Normal	e	1	b	pommée
<i>v</i>	Debased, crude head. Henricus	Normal	c	1	b	pattée

It may be worth remarking that the letter a is throughout formed in the same way as on the first four Lawrence classes, i.e. the only cross-bar is across the top of the uprights. Classes *i* and *ii* normally have a pellet stop between the two words of the obverse legend. Classes *iii*, *iv* and *v* usually do not have such a stop. As far as the reverses are concerned, the majority of the coins have single pellets either side of the word ON, though a number

of the Tomas pennies have only one, that preceding ON, and several of the Simon(d) coins of class *iii*c have no stops at all. In two instances a colon stop has been observed (No. 2510, *ii*e; and No. 4020, the *iv/v* mule), but it is not considered that these isolated examples have any connection with the colon stops of Lawrence class I Ib.¹

Although all of the Rhuddlan coins are to a certain extent crude and are easily distinguishable from the regular Short Cross pennies, the die-cutters were not without skill and were able to copy themselves very closely. The two 'non-official' coins however, both of Halli, are quite different in treatment.

The first is in the British Museum and appears to be of contemporary workmanship. There are so many differences from the normal coins of Rhuddlan that it would be most unlikely to represent the first trial essay of the local die-cutter. The curls are arranged on the opposite sides of the head from normal, i.e. 5/2, the letter A is open at the top with a cross-bar across the middle, the letter S is reversed, the letters N are correctly barred, and the crown is of the regular issues type not used at Rhuddlan until much later. If these dies had been the first work of the local cutter, his later work would have corrected some of the errors, but certainly would not have instituted new ones that continued unchanged through a whole series.

The other irregular coin, now in the A. H. F. Baldwin collection, was first illustrated in *BNJ* II, plate opp. p. 30, no. 9, and was then in the Talbot Ready cabinet. It has the appearances of being a nineteenth century concoction.

This is not the place to speculate as to why these coins were struck in such a comparatively remote corner of the Plantagenet sphere of influence. Too many attempts to relate them to the fragmentary written history of those times have already been made, with widely conflicting conclusions. It may not be out of order, however, to remark that we have no actual proof that coins were ever struck at Rhuddlan; the attribution to that town is pure conjecture. An attempt may nevertheless be made to date them within a broad outline and with the aid of the detailed hoard evidence compiled by Mr. Dolley², who has most generously given permission for the tabulated results of his researches to be reproduced here³. The table sets out the published hoard evidence for Rhuddlan in the Short Cross period together with some supplementary evidence in respect of the Eccles hoard which is taken from the British Museum trays.

Hoard	Latest regular class	Halli		Tomas <i>iib, c, d</i>	Simon(d)		Henricus <i>v</i>
		<i>i</i>	<i>ii</i> a		<i>ii</i> e	<i>iii, iv</i>	
Aston	IIIa	3	—	—	—	—	—
Lisieux	IVa	—	—	1	—	—	—
Newry	V	—	—	—	—	1+	—
Eccles	VII	?	?	?	1+	5+	—
Kilmalno	VII	—	—	—	—	1	—
'France'	VII	—	—	1	—	—	1
Colchester	VII	1	1	1	2	8	2
Ribe	VIII	—	—	—	—	—	1

¹ See also *BNJ* XXXIII pp. 58-61, for re-allocation of Class I Ib to Class IVa.

² *Spink's Num. Circ.*, Nov. 1963, p. 227.

³ With Mr. Dolley's approval, the Table incor-

porates slight amendments, and also includes the Kilmalno hoard (*Inventory 216*) which had one penny of class *iv*, recorded amongst the 'irregular' coins in the National Museum of Ireland's Register.

The table does help to confirm the relative order of the moneyers. As the date of deposit of the hoards becomes later, so coins of the successive moneyers appear. Caution must however be exercised in carrying this argument too far as the absence of the coins of any particular moneyer can be as well construed as merely another indication of the comparative rarity of these pennies. In particular, the fact of Eccles and Kilmaine not including coins of Henricus could apparently indicate that he did not commence striking until *c.* 1240, and that these two hoards are slightly earlier than 'France' and Colchester. This argument, however, is not really valid, for even Colchester, the largest of all the Short Cross hoards, contained only two specimens by this rare moneyer.

On stylistic grounds the first coins of Halli, class *i*, which are obvious copies of Lawrence class I, would be dated to the penultimate decade of the twelfth century. The Aston (Nantwich) find was deposited probably a little before 1194 and contained Rhuddlan pennies of this first group, and of this first group only. The second group, class *ii*, consists of later, debased, copies: their apparent derivation from Lawrence class III is due to the latter itself being derived by a process of debasement from the earliest regular Short Cross issues. One coin of Tomas was present in the Lisieux hoard which may be dated to *c.* 1195. The new style coins of Simon(d), those with the cross pommée, patently are copied from the reform coinage of King John of 1204/5. At least one specimen was contained in the Newry find from Ireland which was deposited soon after that date. The retrograde version, Simod, presumably representing the same man, is also copied from Lawrence class V and is die-linked with Henricus who used only a small number of dies. It is therefore improbable that there was any considerable interlude in striking at Rhuddlan and it would seem unlikely that the issues would have extended much beyond 1215. Although there is a superficial resemblance between the Henricus pennies and the regular coins of Lawrence classes VII and VIII, this is doubtless due to lack of skill on the part of the die-cutter and the coins are most probably earlier. Unfortunately none of the well-documented finds of Short Cross pennies that were deposited in the period between *c.* 1210 and *c.* 1240 contained any coins of the Rhuddlan mint and therefore cannot aid in resolving the questions of their date.

The limits within which we may confidently postulate dates of striking of these irregular issues of coins, on numismatic grounds alone, are therefore as follows:

Class	<i>i</i>	<i>c.</i> 1180— <i>c.</i> 1190.
	<i>ii</i>	<i>c.</i> 1190—pre 1205.
	<i>iii</i>	<i>c.</i> 1205— <i>c.</i> 1210.
	<i>iv</i>	<i>c.</i> 1210.
	<i>v</i>	<i>c.</i> 1210— <i>c.</i> 1215.

The majority of the coins have been weighed, but any tabulation of the available weights could possibly be misleading without taking into account the degree of wear—and damage in some cases—to which each coin has been subjected. However, the impression gained from the data available is that the Rhuddlan pennies were of good weight quite comparable with those of the regular issues.

A list is appended of all the die-combinations that have so far been discovered¹. An example of each combination is illustrated on plates XI and XII. The number of specimens recorded is also noted. It must be acknowledged that not all surviving coins have been recorded here, perhaps not even a large proportion of them, but nevertheless the pattern which is now established is unlikely to be disturbed to any substantial extent by the addition of further material. Classes *iv* and *v* appear to be largely complete, but in the earlier issues there are several places where additional dies could well be fitted in as a result of new finds. Once more this parallels the regular coinage where classes V and VI, and the earlier part of class VII, are almost completely represented in our cabinets, but the early issues are very much more incomplete. This only reflects the fact that several large hoards from late in the Short Cross period have been unearthed, while early hoards are fewer and smaller.

Finally, acknowledgement must again be made that this paper is largely based on the preliminary work of Mr. R. H. M. Dolley already referred to, and is in reality only an extension of his classification made possible by reason of the larger number of coins now available. The Willoughby Gardner collection includes no less than twenty-eight Short Cross pennies of Rhuddlan and the present writer is deeply indebted to Mr. D. F. Petch, Curator of the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, for the very generous way in which he has made these, and the other Rhuddlan pennies in the museum, available for study in London. Grateful thanks are also due to the individuals and museums noted below who have made available, lent, cast, or photographed their Rhuddlan pennies and given permission for them to be illustrated. In particular the Keeper and staff of the Coin Room at the British Museum have, as always, been particularly helpful. Lastly, but not least, the many individuals and museums contacted who, to their regret, did not have any specimens must also be thanked for the trouble they went to in answering enquiries.

SOURCES OF COINS AND OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

<i>Collections</i>	<i>Illustrations</i>
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford	4510.
A. H. F. Baldwin, Esq.	1050, 2310, 2550, 3325, 3370, 9020.
N. C. Ballingal, Esq.	3315.
Birmingham City Museum	2220.
J. D. Brand, Esq.	1030, 2330, 3330, 3345.
British Museum	2410, 2520, 3110, 3335, 3340, 3350, 3360, 4010, 5010, 9010.
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge	1220.
Grosvenor Museum, Chester.	1010, 1020, 1040, 2110, 2210, 2320, 2420, 2510, 2530, 2540, 3210, 3310, 3320, 5020, 5030.
Hunterian Museum, Glasgow	—
F. Elmore Jones, Esq.	1210, 2430, 4020.
Koninklijk Penningkabinet, The Hague	—
Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen	—
National Museum of Ireland	—
National Museum of Wales	2230.
B. H. I. H. Stewart, Esq.	—
P. Woodhead, Esq.	1060.

¹ The system of numbering has been designed readily to facilitate insertion, in their correct order,

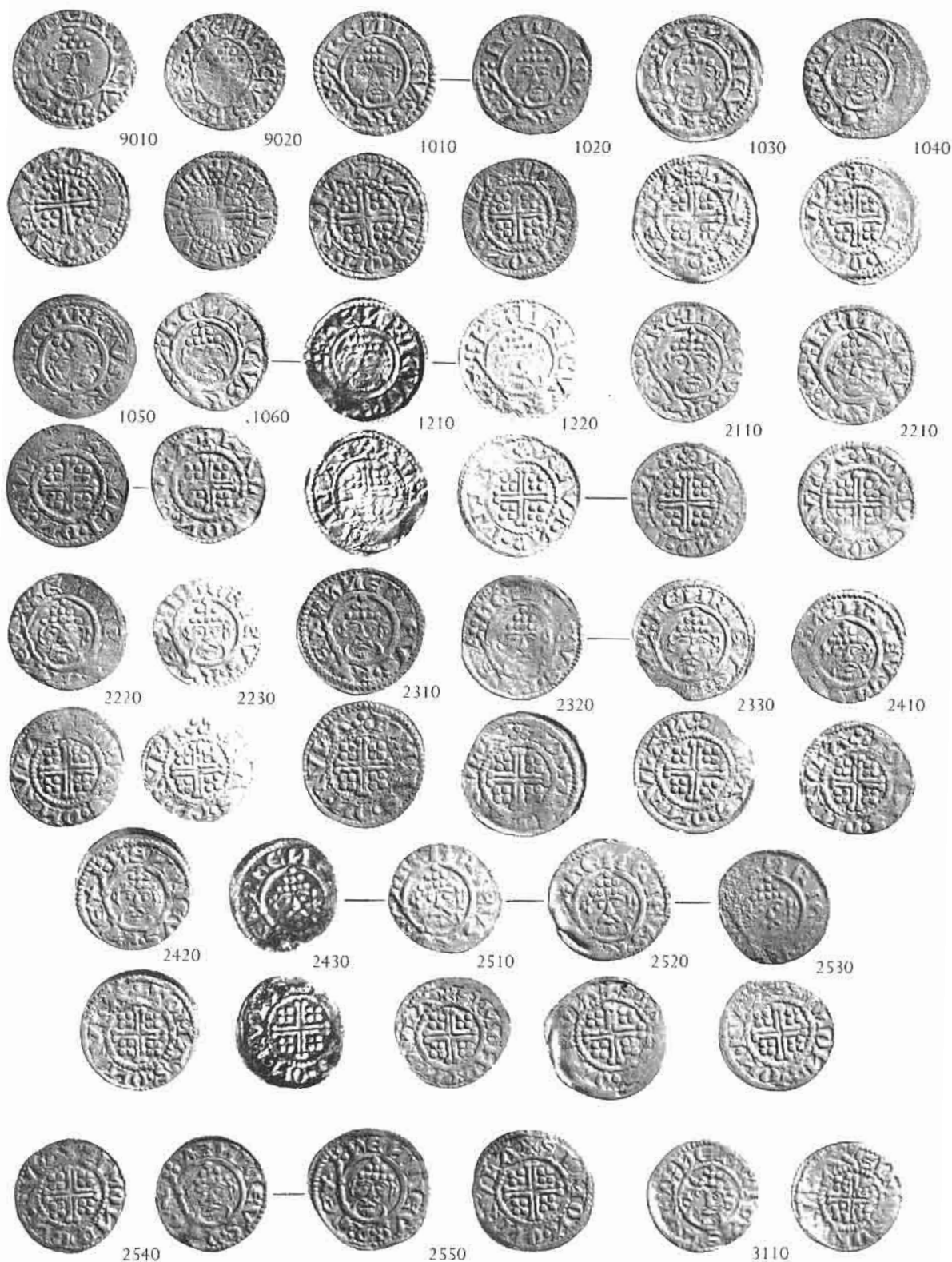
of new dies and new combinations of dies which will undoubtedly be brought to light in the future.

<i>List No.</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Moneyer and Description</i>	<i>No. of Coins</i>
HALLI			
1010	<i>i</i>	Same Obv. die as 1020	2
1020	<i>i</i>	Same Obv. die as 1010: later striking	4
1030	<i>i</i>		7
1040	<i>i</i>		2
1050	<i>i</i>	Same Rev. die as 1060	3
1060	<i>i</i>	Same Obv. die as 1210 & 1220; same Rev. die as 1050	3
			— 21
HALLI (Retrograde)			
1210	<i>i/ia</i>	Same Obv. die as 1060 & 1220	1
1220	<i>i/ia</i>	Same Obv. die as 1060 & 1210; same Rev. die as 2110	2
2110	<i>ia</i>	Same Rev. die as 1220	6
			— 9
TOMAS			
2210	<i>iib</i>		3
2220	<i>ii, b or c</i>	2nd Stop missing	1
2230	<i>ii, b or c</i>	2nd Stop missing	1
2310	<i>iic</i>	Obv. reads HNERICUS	5
2320	<i>iic</i>	2nd Stop missing. Same Obv. die as 2330	3
2330	<i>iic</i>	2nd Stop missing. Same Obv. die as 2320	1
2410	<i>iid</i>	2nd Stop missing	4
2420	<i>iid</i>	2nd Stop missing	5
2430	<i>iid</i>	? same Obv. die as 2510-2530	1
			— 24
SIMON(D)			
2510	<i>iie</i>	D. 1st Stop double. Same Obv. die as 2430(?), 2520 and 2530	4
2520	<i>iie</i>	D. Same Obv. die as 2430(?), 2510 & 2530	1
2530	<i>iie</i>	D. Same Obv. die as 2430(?), 2510 & 2520	2
2540	<i>iie</i>	D. Same Obv. die as 2550	5
2550	<i>iie</i>	2nd Stop missing. Same Obv. die as 2540	1
			— 13
3110	<i>iiia</i>	No Stops	2
3210	<i>iiib</i>	D.	3
			— 5
3310	<i>iiic</i>	D. No Stops. Same Obv. die as 3315-3345	1
3315	<i>iiic</i>	D. Same Obv. die as 3310, 3320-3345	1
3320	<i>iiic</i>	D. No Stops. Same Obv. die as 3310, 3315, 3325-3345	3
3325	<i>iiic</i>	D. 1st Stop missing. Same Obv. die as 3310-3320, 3330-3345	3
3330	<i>iiic</i>	D. Same Obv. die as 3310-3325, 3335-3345, but re-cut	7
3335	<i>iiic</i>	Same Obv. die as 3310-3330, 3340 & 3345	7
3340	<i>iiic</i>	D. No Stops. Same Obv. die as 3310-3335, & 3345. Same Rev. die as 3345 & 3350.	1
3345	<i>iiic</i>	D. No Stops. Same Obv. die as 3310-3340, but re-cut. Same Rev. die as 3340 & 3350.	1
3350	<i>iiic</i>	D. No Stops. Same Rev. die as 3340 & 3345	2
3360	<i>iiic</i>	Same Obv. die as 3370, letter x is pommée	5
3370	<i>iiic</i>	Same Obv. die as 3360, letter x is pommée	3
			— 34
SIMON (Retrograde).			
4010	<i>iv</i>	No Stops. Obv. has letter I after 2nd R	4
4020	<i>iv</i>	No Stops. Same Obv. die as 4510. Obv. has letter N reversed	1
			— 5
Carried forward			111

<i>List No.</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Moneyer and Description</i>	<i>No. of Coins</i>
		Brought forward	111
		HENRICUS	
4510	<i>iv/v</i>	1st Stop double, no 2nd Stop. Same Obv. die as 4020. Obv. has letter N reversed	2
5010	<i>v</i>	Obv. has letter x by itself between hand and sceptre-head	5
5020	<i>v</i>	Same Rev. die as 5030	5
5030	<i>v</i>	Same Rev. die as 5020	3
			— 15
			—
			126
		IRREGULAR	
9010	—	Halli. Contemporary?	1
9020	—	Halli. Modern concoction?	1
			— 2
			—
			128
			—

ADDENDUM

By an unfortunate oversight, the collections of the Royal Mint Museum were not consulted before this paper was written. There are three pennies of Rhuddlan in that museum, all of class *iiic*, moneyer Simon(d). They are from the die-combinations noted as Nos. 3315, 3325 and 3335. The condition of the first of these is rather better than that of the only other specimen so far noted of that particular combination, and it can now be seen that the obverse die had suffered considerable wear. Accordingly it should be placed chronologically after the combinations numbered 3320 and 3325.



THE COROFIN (CO. CLARE) HOARD—LATE 12th—EARLY 13th CENTURIES

By R. H. M. DOLLEY and WILLIAM O'SULLIVAN, D.ECON.SC., M.R.I.A.

LATE in 1942 there came to light in Drummoher townland near Corofin in Co. Clare a major hoard of silver coins of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.¹ In all 1080 coins were recovered and sent to the National Museum of Ireland. There they were found to belong to three denominations as follows:—

	<i>Irish</i>	<i>English</i>
Pence	1	2
Halfpence	1072	—
Farthings	5	—

The great majority bear the name of John, youngest son of Henry II of England, who was Lord of Ireland from 1177 onwards, and King of England from 1199 until his death in 1216. So dramatic an addition to the available material could not but transform the state of knowledge concerning John's Irish coinages, and in a forthcoming paper² an entirely new chronology will be suggested, based in part on an analysis of the die-study of the so-called DOM halfpence, which the National Museum of Ireland published in 1964³. This analysis, however, is based on the totality of the evidence—in the trays of the National Museum there are represented many dies and die-combinations which do not occur in the Corofin hoard—and hence the need for the present paper which lists the 1942 find in accordance with the 1964 die-study and the imminent re-arrangement of the first Anglo-Irish coinage as a whole.

Where the DOM halfpence are concerned, details are set out in three columns each consisting of two ciphers. The first, divided in each case by an oblique stroke, refers to the obverse and reverse numbers of the dies listed on pp. 22–85 of the National Museum publication cited, while the second gives the number of coins in the hoard from the particular die-combination. The spelling of the name of the moneyer is generally the fullest and most correct provided by extant coins of the issue in question. The mints are arranged alphabetically under the different emissions, but the order of the moneyers is as far as possible chronological. By 'regular' issues are understood those coins thought to have been struck by due authority of the English crown, even though in some cases—and notably with the COMIS and DE MO coins of Waterford—there is reason to think that the dies were engraved locally. The 'irregular' coins fall into two distinct classes, blundered copies of DOM halfpence, and four coins which there is reason to think were struck for John de Courey *regnans in Ultonia*. The surprisingly few coins of the REX issue are all of normal type, and no die-identities have

¹ *Inventory* 99 'Corosin, 1943'.

² R. H. M. Dolley & W. O'Sullivan, 'The Chronology of the First Anglo-Irish Coinage', in *North Munster Studies: Essays in commemoration*

of Monsignor Michael Moloney (ed. E. Rynne), Dublin, 1966.

³ W. O'Sullivan, *The Earliest Anglo-Irish Coinage* Dublin, 1964.

been observed. Finally the English coins have been classified according to Lawrence,¹ but the chronology proposed is that of Mr. John Brand.² On the basis of the earlier scheme of dating, the presumptive date of concealment of the hoard could be as late as the 1230s, Class VIIa for Lawrence not beginning until 1222.

The list of the hoard is as follows:—

IRELAND

(a) Regular issues

JOHN AS LORD

Coinage of 1189-1199

FIRST EMISSION (cross potent on reverse) HALFPENCE.

MINT OF DUBLIN

Moneyer NORMAN (179 coins).

1/1	3	9/8	1	19/25	3
2/2	1	9/9	5	20/23	3
2/3	1	9/10	2	20/24	7
3/2	1	9/11	1	21/20	11
4/4	7	9/14	4	21/23	1
4/5	3	10/15	2	21/26	3
4/6	1	11/8	12	22/13	2
5/7	11	12/16	1	22/20	2
6/8	6	13/16	1	22/27	3
6/9	1	13/17	1	23/21	5
6/10	2	14/18	1	23/26	2
7/4	1	15/15	1	23/27	3
7/5	1	15/19	5	24/26	7
7/8	7	16/0	1	24/27	2
8/7	3	16/20	13	25/9	1
8/11	4	16/21	2	25/10	1
8/12	2	17/6	3	25/12	1
8/13	1	18/23	6	26/28	2
		18/24	1	27/29	1

Moneyer RODBERD (20 coins)

1/1	1	5/5	5	7/9	2
4/2	1	5/6	1	9/11	5
5/4	2	7/8	1	10/12	1
				12/13	1

Moneyer TURGOD (26 coins)

1/1	2	2/6	1	5/2	2
1/2	1	2/7	1	5/9	7
1/3	1	3/5	2	6/3	1
2/4	1	4/8	1	6/5	1
2/5	1	5/1	3	7/2	1

¹ L. A. Lawrence, 'The Short-Cross Coinage', *BNJ* XI (1914/1915), pp. 59-100.

² J. D. Brand, 'Some Short-Cross Questions', *BNJ* XXXIII (1964), pp. 57-69.

SECOND EMISSION (cross potent on reverse) HALFPENCE.

MINT OF CARRICKFERGUS

Moneyer ROBE(RD) (1 coin)

1/1 1

MINT OF DUBLIN

Moneyer ADAM (125 coins)

1/1	1	7/2	5	11/10	1
2/1	2	7/6	4	11/15	6
3/2	5	7/8	4	12/14	5
3/3	1	7/9	15	13/3	1
4/4	7	7/10	2	14/16	1
4/5	1	8/11	4	15/16	1
5/6	11	9/8	1	15/17	7
5/7	1	9/12	8	16/1	2
5/8	1	10/13	5	17/13	1
5/9	3	10/14	1	17/14	3
6/6	1	11/6	7	18/14	2
6/10	1	11/9	4		

Moneyer NICOLAS (26 coins)

1/1	1	4/2	1	7/3	5
2/1	4	5/2	1	8/3	3
3/2	5	6/3	6		

Moneyer TOMAS (39 coins)

1/1	4	3/2	6	5/1	13
2/2	15	4/1	1		

MINT OF KILKENNY

Moneyer ANDREH (2 coins)

1/1 1 2/1 1

Moneyer SIMUND (8 coins)

1/1 8

Moneyer WALTEX (6 coins)

1/1	1	2/2	1	4/4	1
2/1	1	4/2	1	5/1	1

MINT OF LIMERICK

Moneyer SIWARD (4 coins)

1/1	1	1/2	1	3/2	1
		2/1	1		

MINT OF WATERFORD

Moneyer MARCUS (28 coins)

1/1	10	2/4	3	5/7	5
1/2	1	3/5	2	5/8	2
1/3	2	4/6	2	6/7	1

Moneyer WALTER (9 coins)

1/1	6	2/2	3
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Moneyer DAVI (18 coins)

1/1	10	2/1	7	3/1	1
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Moneyer GEFREI (116 coins)

1/1	3	6/7	2	11/3	8
2/1	1	7/2	4	11/4	20
3/2	1	7/3	5	12/9	2
3/3	1	7/4	10	13/9	11
3/4	10	8/7	3	13/10	2
4/5	1	8/8	1	13/11	7
4/6	1	9/7	4	14/9	1
5/5	1	9/8	1	15/9	5
5/6	3	10/8	1	15/10	7

Moneyer '———ERT' (4 coins)

1/1	3	2/1	1
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Moneyer WILLMUS (54 coins)

1/1	4	4/5	1	7/1	5
2/2	4	5/4	1	7/6	1
2/3	8	5/5	1	7/7	7
3/2	3	6/6	3	7/8	2
3/3	2	6/7	1	7/9	2
4/4	6	6/8	3		

Uncertain Moneyer(s) (2 coins)

1/1	1	2/2	1
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SECOND EMISSION FARTHING

(DUBLIN), Adam	1	(WATERFORD), Gefr(ei)	1
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THIRD EMISSION (cross pommée on reverse) HALFPENCE.

MINT OF CARRICKFERGUS

Moneyer ROBERT (3 coins)

1/1	2	1/2	1
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MINT OF DUBLIN

Moneyer ADAM (53 coins)

1/1	2	3/4	10	5/6	4
2/2	14	4/5	9	6/7	4
2/3	8	5/1	1	0/8	1

Moneyer TOMAS (159 coins)

1/1	3	6/9	20	12/14	7
1/2	14	6/12	5	13/2	1
1/3	3	7/5	2	14/9	1
2/4	3	8/10	3	15/3	4
3/5	4	9/10	3	16/12	6
3/6	7	9/11	1	17/2	2

3/7	1	10/6	9	18/9	1
3/8	1	10/8	5	18/12	14
4/9	6	11/7	4	18/15	3
5/10	1	11/13	8	19/3	3
5/11	4	12/7	1		
6/5	3	12/8	6		

Moneyer HUGE (37 coins)

1/1	6	3/3	1	4/6	3
1/2	7	3/4	2	4/7	2
2/2	1	4/5	6	5/7	7
2/3	2				

Moneyer WILLELMUS (20 coins)

1/1	8	2/1	12		
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MINT OF LIMERICK

Moneyer SIWARD (6 coins)

1/1	6				
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MINT OF WATERFORD

Moneyer GAIFRI (1 coin)

1/1	1				
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Moneyer WILLELMUS (95 coins)

1/1	18	2/4	5	5/4	9
1/2	5	2/5	4	5/5	3
1/3	1	3/5	3	6/4	8
2/1	4	3/6	1	6/5	4
2/2	6	4/3	1	6/6	7
2/3	14	5/3	2		

JOHN AS KING OF ENGLAND

Coinage of c. 1205-c. 1210

MINT OF DUBLIN

<i>Penny</i>	ROBERD, 1	1
<i>Halfpence</i>	ROBERD, 13; WILLEM, 1	14
<i>Farthings</i>	ROBERD, 1; WILLEM, 1	2

(b) Irregular issues

Imitations of cross potent halfpence of John as Lord	14
CAPVT IOHANNIS halfpenny, <i>Downpatrick</i> , Thomas	1
CAPVT IONIS PEGIS halfpence, <i>Carrickfergus</i> , Thomas	2
PATRICI farthing of <i>Carrickfergus</i> , cross potent type	1

ENGLAND

Pence of 'Short Cross' Coinage (Henry II, Richard, John, Henry III)

Lawrence Class Ib (c. 1181-1186?)

<i>York</i> , WILLELM	1
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Lawrence Class VIIa (c. 1217-1220?)

<i>Canterbury</i> IOAN	1
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Critical for the date of the hoard's concealment is the second of the English coins. On any telling it is later by five years than any of the Irish pieces, and was probably struck at least seven years after the latest coin from Dublin. Nor can it be described as 'fresh from the die', though there is some room for opinion as to whether the comparative smoothness of the surface is not due as much to weak striking as to actual wear. It is unlikely, though, that the Corofin hoard was concealed before c. 1220, a dozen years, that is, after the great majority of its coins seem officially to have been demonetized (? by the Assize of Woodstock), and this is probably a reminder that it was amassed as well as concealed outside the area where coin of any description was current, let alone in general use. Obviously, though, it is not possible to particularize the occasion of the hoard's concealment, but we will not be very wrong if we associate it with the years of disturbance west of the Shannon that followed the death of Cathal Crobderg Ó Conchubair.

We conclude this note with a summary of the Corofin hoard in modified *Inventory* format:—

COROFIN, Co. Clare, 1942. 1080 (+ ?) R English and Irish.

Deposit: c. 1225.

ENGLAND (2 pennies): *Short-cross* coinage, 1180–1247—Lawrence Ib: *York*, Willelm, 1. Lawrence VIIa: *Canterbury*, Ioan.

IRELAND (1078 coins): 'Iohannes Dom' halfpence, (a) cross potent—*Carrickfergus*, Roberd, 1; *Dublin*, Adam, 125; Nicolas, 26; Norman, 179; Rodberd, 20; Tomas, 39; Turgod, 26; *Kilkenny*, Andreh, 2; Simund, 8; Waltex, 6; *Limerick*, Siward, 4; *Waterford*, Davi, 18; Gefrei, 116; Marcus, 28; Walter, 9; Willmus, 54;—ert, 4; uncertain moneyer(s), 2; imitative pieces, 14. (b) cross pommée—*Carrickfergus*, Roberd, 3; *Dublin*, Adam, 53; Huge, 37; Tomas, 159; Willelmus, 20; *Limerick*, Siward, 6; *Waterford*, Gaifri, 1; Willelmus, 95. 'Iohannes Dom' farthings—Adam, 1; Gefr(ei), 1. 'Iohannes Rex' coinage—penny, *Dublin*, Roberd, 1; halfpence, *Dublin*, Roberd, 13; Willem, 1; farthings, Roberd, 1; Willem, 1. 'Caput Iohannis' halfpenny, *Downpatrick*, Thomas, 1. 'Caput Ionis Pegis' halfpence, *Carrickfergus*, Thomas, 2. 'Patrici' farthing, *Carrickfergus*, 1.

R. H. M. Dolley and W. O'Sullivan, *BNJ* XXXIV (1965), pp. 98–103.

Disposition: The 1080 coins listed were secured for the National Museum of Ireland. A handful of coins may still be in private possession locally¹.

¹ Information to R.H.M.D. from a private source.

A PARCEL OF LONG-CROSS COINS—? FROM THE 1869 TOWER HILL HOARD

By R. H. M. DOLLEY and W. A. SEABY, F.S.A.

[Pl. XIII]

IN the spring of 1965 Mr. Brian Spencer, F.S.A., of the London Museum made available to us for purposes of study a parcel of 24 silver pennies and 9 cut halfpennies which that institution had just acquired through the good offices of Mr. F. M. Underhill, F.S.A., of Datchet. The coins had been found together in the desk of a Mr. A. E. Cook who died in 1889, and had passed to his daughters who are still alive. Mr. Cook was a solicitor in partnership with a Mr. Clayton, their offices being in Great George Street, Westminster, while their practice had a pronounced ecclesiastical flavour, being concerned almost entirely with the affairs of the Dean and of individual Canons of Westminster Abbey. There might have been a certain presumption, then, that the 33 coins in question, all but one of them identically patinated, had come to light in the immediate vicinity of the Abbey, if not indeed within the actual precincts, but that the find is one already known to numismatic science is suggested by consideration of the composition of those hoards composed exclusively, or even predominantly, of Long-Cross pennies of Henry III which are on record as having been discovered before the year of Mr. Cook's death. Of those listed in Mr. Thompson's *Inventory*, two only seem to be relevant, the Bantry hoard of 1834 (*Inv.* 33), and the Tower Hill (London) hoard of 1869 (*Inv.* 254). The possibility, however, that Mr. Cook's parcel might derive from the Irish hoard is one that can safely be dismissed, if only because in his parcel one third of the coins are of Lawrence class Vg, whereas a recent note has sought to demonstrate that the Bantry find, occasioned as it was by the McCarthy resurgence which culminated in the battle of Callan in 1261, contained no coin of class Vg, and no coin demonstrably later than class Vd.¹

That the Tower Hill find is the most likely provenance for Mr. Cook's coins is not perhaps so immediately obvious. This hoard came to light some twenty years before his death, and the portion surrendered to the Crown appears to have been constituted as follows:—

<i>English</i>	whole pennies	209
	cut halfpennies	72
	cut farthings	19
<i>Irish</i>	pennies	3
<i>Scottish</i>	pennies	2

Fortunately, too, this parcel was the subject of a detailed report by Sir John Evans,² and on

¹ R. H. M. Dolley, 'The 1834 Bantry Find and the Battle of Callan', *Journ. Cork Hist. & Arch. Soc.*, LXXI, 213, pp. 135-139.

² *NC* 1869, pp. 247-256. In the printed text Sir John Evans describes the find as having been made 'last March', and this might suggest that the year of the discovery was 1868 and not 1869, and the more so because Sir John's paper was read to the Society on 16 April 1869 which would leave at most six weeks for the coins to find their way to him, to be classified and listed, and to be the

subject of seizure by the Crown. It is clear, however, from M. Harrison's *London beneath the Pavement* (London, 1961) that the tunnel which was the occasion of the discovery did not begin to be driven until 1869 (*op. cit.*, p. 133), and March 1869 seems clearly indicated as the date of the hoard's discovery. It may well be, though, that the paper as read and the paper as published bore little relation to each other, and that the latter did not go to the printer until the summer or even early autumn of 1869.

the basis of his descriptions it is possible to be fairly confident that the chronological pattern presented by the whole English pennies was as follows:—

Lawrence	Class	I	2
		II	5
		III	64
		IV	—
		V	138

In other words, coins of Lawrence class V were twice as numerous as those of class III, while, on the assumption that the 300 coins discovered were representative of the find as a whole, a random parcel of 33, such as Mr. Cook's, ought to have included at least one cut farthing and probably two, seven or eight cut halfpence, the same number of whole pennies of class III and fifteen or so whole pennies of class V. Admittedly Mr. Cook's parcel contains no cut farthings, the most likely coins to have been overlooked or discarded by a non-numismatist, but the figures for the cut halfpennies and for the class III and V pennies, nine, eight and sixteen respectively, do correspond very closely to expectation. Of course it could be objected that in all hoards from a given date the proportion of old to new coins should be fairly constant, but if we glance at the broadly comparable Palmer's Green (London) find of 1911 (*Inv.* 247 & 248), Steppingley find of 1912 (*Inv.* 342) and Coventry find of 1958, it is to note the proportion of coins of class III has slumped from approximately $33\frac{1}{3}\%$ to at most 20%. In other words coins of Lawrence class V are not twice as numerous as those of class III but four times, and the coincidence of the figures for the Tower Hill find and for Mr. Cook's parcel seems the more remarkable.

It has been observed elsewhere that the proportion of coins of Renaud and, to a lesser extent, of Alein affords a useful index of the date of those hoards which end with coins of Lawrence class Vg (or Vh), and it is interesting to note that the proportion of Renaud and of Alein coins in the Tower Hill find and in Mr. Cook's parcel is so consistent with the hypothesis that the latter derives from the former. In the Tower Hill hoard there were 34 pennies of Renaud and three of Alein, so that in Mr. Cook's parcel one might have expected to find five or six pennies of Renaud and not more than one of Alein. In fact the figures are five and one. This contrasts with the position obtaining in the case of the virtually contemporaneous Palmer's Green find, and of the only slightly later finds from Coventry and Steppingley, as is brought out by the following table:—

	No. of coins	RENAUD	No. of coins	ALEIN
		% of find		% of find
TOWER HILL	34	15.0	3	1.5
'MR. COOK'S PARCEL'	5	15.0	1	3.0
PALMER'S GREEN	15	7.5	—	—
COVENTRY	46	20.0	5	2.0
STEPPINGLEY	123	25.0	13	3.0

It is indeed difficult to escape the conclusion that Mr. Cook was in possession of a parcel of coins from the Tower Hill hoard of 1869, and especially since there is some reason to think that coins from this find escaped the net of the then treasure trove regulations denounced with unusual acerbity by Sir John Evans in his listing of the coins that passed through

his hands.¹ Mr. C. E. Blunt, F.B.A., for example, has in his cabinet four Long-Cross pennies (IIIb, *Lincoln*, Willem; *London*, Henri (2): Vg, *London*, Renaud) which were given to him in 1959 by the late Mr. W. J. Hemp, F.S.A., who stated that they had been given to his grandfather (*d.* Oct. 1869) with 'the moat of the Tower of London' as the provenance. Sir John Evans, too, himself remarked 'A load of rubbish had already been removed from the spot before any of the coins were noticed, and there is reason to believe that a considerable number of them had been taken away with it'. It should also be observed that all the coins that we have seen, those in the British Museum with the Tower Hill provenance, those now in the London Museum, and the four in Mr. Blunt's collection, have a consistent patination, and the greater probability, amounting almost to a certainty, must be that Mr. Cook's parcel derives from the 1869 find on Tower Hill. There is, though, no reason to think that the coins were among those listed by Sir John Evans, and it is noticeable that the legend of no. 5 in the catalogue that follows is one unrecorded by him.

The 33 coins in the London Museum are listed here in accordance with the principles adopted for the publication of the recent Coventry and Winchester finds, the 'L' numbers referring to the legends recorded by L. A. Lawrence under each variety. The first coin, for example, corresponds to the second legend given by Lawrence under the heading IIIc on p. 90 of his paper in the 1913 volume of this *Journal* (p. 58 of the repaginated offprint). All the coins are illustrated in the same order on the plate (Pl. XIII).

BURY ST. EDMUNDS

		ION	
(1) Class IIIc	L2	19.3 grains	Pierced and rubbed
(2) IIIc	L1-3	10.5	Cut $\frac{1}{2}$ d — / — / EDM / VND
(3) Va	L7	19.6	

CANTERBURY

		ALEIN	
(4) Class Vg	L27	21.6 grains	
		GILBERT	
(5) Class Vg	L3 var.	21.1 grains	E R ligulate and CANT
		IOHS, ION, etc.	
(6) Class Vb	L8 var.	21.5 grains	o n ligulate in moneyer's name
(7) Vc	L8 var.	23.4	h'
(8) Vc	L3	22.1	
(9) Vc	L4?	10.5	Cut $\frac{1}{2}$ d — / ON / CAN / —
		NICOLE	
(10) Class IIIb	L4	21.5 grains	
(11) Vc	L10?	10.2	Cut $\frac{1}{2}$ d NIC / — / — / ANT crescents
(12) IIIc	L4 or 5?	11.1	Cut $\frac{1}{2}$ d — / OLE / ONC / —
(13) IIIc	L4 or 5?	10.7	Cut $\frac{1}{2}$ d NIC / — / — / ANT
(14) Vg	L10	22.2	

¹ NC 1869, p. 247 'They [the coins] have since been claimed as treasure-trove by the solicitor to the Treasury, under a mischievous law that has

come down to us from semi-barbarous times, and which clearly causes the destruction and concealment of numerous antiquities'.

		ROBERT
(15)	Class Vg	L19 22.7 grains

		WILLEM
(16)	Class Vg	L13 21.6 grains

ILCHESTER (?)

		STEPHEN	
(17)	Class IIIb	L3 var.	11.1 grains
			Cut $\frac{1}{2}$ d STE / PHE (?) / — / — with pellet over h.

LINCOLN

		RICARD	
(18)	Class IIIb	L3 var.	21.4 grains
			REX . III

LONDON

		HENRI	
(19)	Class IIIc	L7	10.2 grains
(20)	IIIc	L8 or 9	10.2
(21)	Vb	L4 var.	18.7
			Cut $\frac{1}{2}$ d — / RIO / NLV / — Cut $\frac{1}{2}$ d HEN / RIO / — / — O / NL

		RENAUD
(22)	Class Vg	L22/21?
(23)	Vg	L22/21?
(24)	Vg	L22/21?
(25)	Vg	L22
(26)	Vg	L22
		24.2 grains
		20.2
		22.2
		21.6
		21.0

		RICARD
(27)	Class Vc	L14
		22.1 grains

UNCERTAIN

(28)	Class Vg (?)	L?	9.0 grains
			Cut $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Unusual work and rev. legend (?) ending VND retrograde

NORTHAMPTON

		WILLEM
(29)	Class IIIb	L10
		23.0 grains

NORWICH

		JACOB
(30)	Class IIIb	L2
		21.6 grains

		WILLEM	
(31)	Class IIIa	L9 var.	21.7 grains
			REX . III

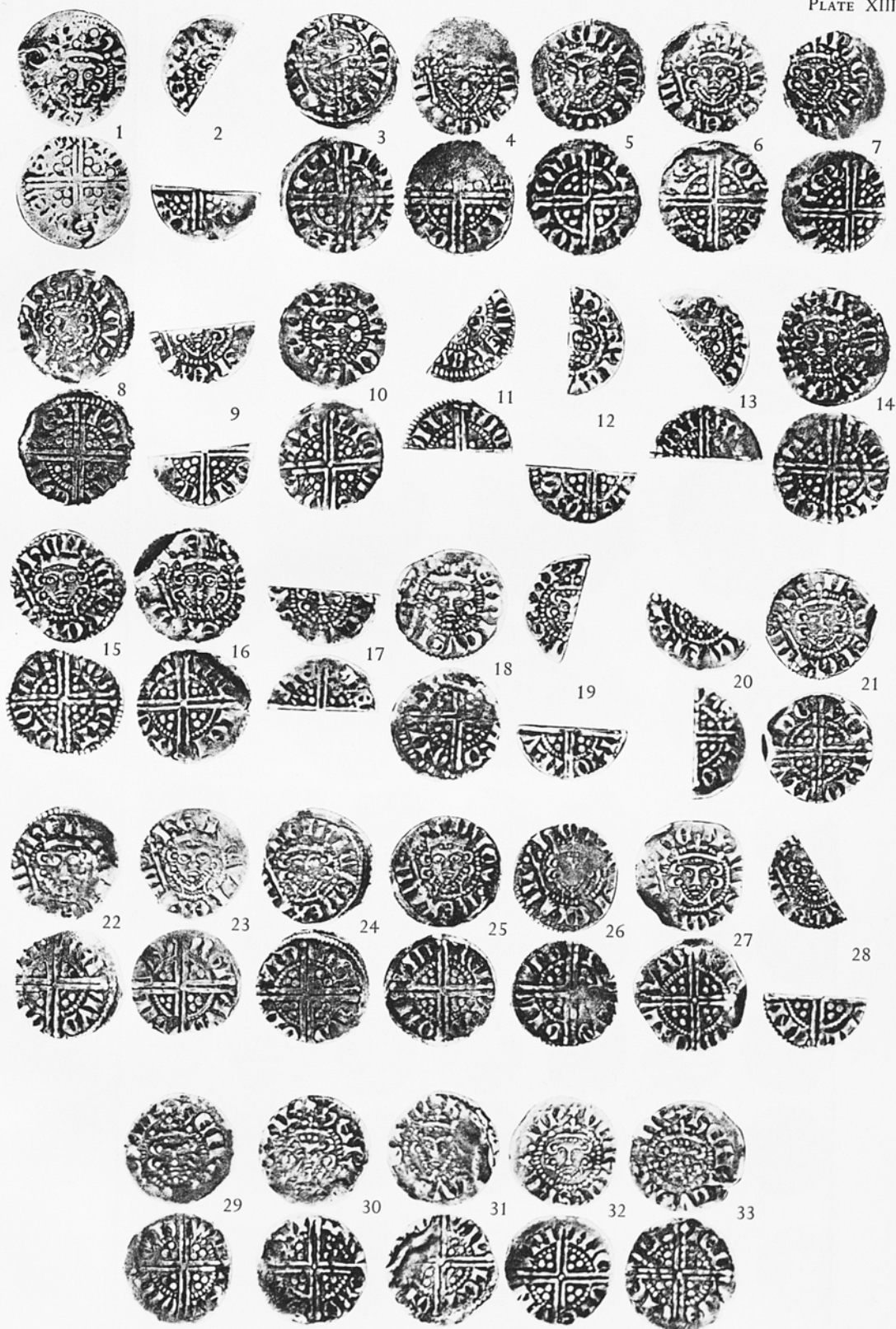
WINCHESTER

(32)	Class IIIc	L6	NICOLE 21.9 grains
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YORK

(33)	Class IIIb	L5	JEREMIE 22.8 grains
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It only remains for us to express our gratitude to those who have been mentioned in the course of this paper, to Dr. Joan Evans, F.S.A., who was no less kind in answering questions addressed to her on certain aspects of her father's researches, and to Mr. Peter Woodhead who was good enough to check the identifications and to assist in the mounting of the plate.



THE RHONESTON HOARD, 1961

by B. H. I. H. STEWART and R. B. K. STEVENSON

FOLLOWING the fifteenth century hoard found at Glenluce Sands, Wigtownshire in 1956¹, a remarkably similar hoard was discovered early in 1961 at Rhoneston, in Nithsdale, Dumfriesshire. The new hoard, which is somewhat smaller, was perhaps buried some five years earlier, c. 1490, since unlike Glenluce it contained no coins of James IV. Both hoards contained long runs of billon pence from 1451, some placks and a few Scottish and English groats and halves.

A discussion of the significance of the two hoards taken together has been published², so that this paper consists principally of a catalogue of the Rhoneston coins, prefaced by some notes on individual coins of interest and on points of classification.

The hoard may be summarized as follows:

RHONESTON, in Nithsdale, Dumfriesshire, Jan. 1961.

83 R and billon English (7) and Scottish (76). Deposit c. 1490. English: Edward III groat, London, 1351-60; Henry V groat, London, class C, and penny, London, class D; Henry VI, Calais groat and halfgroat, both rosette-masle issue, and York penny, cross-pellet issue; Edward IV, 1st reign, light coinage, London groat, Class Vd. Scottish: James II, second coinage, groats, Edinburgh (2), pennies, Edinburgh (10), Perth (2); James III, groats, Edinburgh, group III (2), group IV (2); placks, first issue (4); billon pence, class A (13), class C (34), class D (4); uncertain pennies, including counterfeit (3).

Find spot 7m. NW of Dumfries on A76, near river Nith (NX 912857). No container.

13 coins to Dumfries Museum, remainder to National Museum of Antiquities.

Discussion of hoard, *PSAS* XCIII, 1959-60, 238-44; catalogue, *BNJ*, XXXIV, 1965.

The seven English coins are fairly evenly spread over the half-century before c. 1465 with one old groat of the 1351 coinage. In contrast the Scottish groats begin with two of James II's recoinage of 1451 and later, and the remaining four belong to the late 1470's and early 1480's. But they are earlier than the latest coins; it appears that, like Glenluce, Rhoneston contains a petty cash element, numerically the largest, which was added at the time of final concealment to a more valuable savings element. The English coins are not individually interesting, except that no. 4, a heavily clipped groat of Henry VI, has had new cross-ends engraved on the reverse to give a deceptive impression that parts of the design have not been cut away. The six groats of James II and James III include one new obverse and two new reverse dies.

The twelve James II second coinage pennies and fifty-one of James III include some new varieties, but the number of die-identities within this hoard and that from Glenluce shows that the picture we now have of these billon issues is less incomplete than might have been supposed from Glenluce alone.

No. 10 is an Edinburgh penny of the second coinage of James II, with on the reverse a crown in one quarter of the cross, and in the others a group of three pellets enclosing an annulet. The reverse die is the same as that of Glenluce no. 15, the only other recorded

¹ B.H.I.H. Stewart 'The Glenluce Hoard, 1956', *BNJ* XXIX (1959), pp. 362-381; and *Medieval Archaeology* III (1959), pp. 259-279.

² Stewart, 'The Glenluce and Rhoneston Hoards of Fifteenth-Century Coins', *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* XCIII (1959-60), pp. 238-244.

coin with this reverse type, which has its obverse die from the first issue¹. The Rhoneston coin has an obverse of the normal second issue; as suggested in the catalogue of the Glenluce hoard, the 'reverse die is probably an early experimental type of the second issue²'. In that case, Rhoneston no. 10 is a very early variety of the second issue, and Glenluce no. 15 is a first issue/second issue mule. There was no specimen in Rhoneston comparable to Glenluce no. 16, with an annulet within the groups of pellets in each quarter of the reverse, but a further specimen of this variety is now recorded³.

Of the later second issue pennies of James II, two are of the Perth mint: no. 16 is from the same pair of dies as the first known specimen of this mint (Glenluce no. 22), the obverse of which was also used at Edinburgh; no. 17 is a Perth mule of the saltire and plain varieties, and no. 18 is a similar mule of Edinburgh.

A new variety⁴ for James III's early pennies, class A, is provided by nos. 41 and 42, two specimens apparently from the same pair of dies. They have annulets between the groups of pellets on the reverse, a feature of some of the groats of group I⁵. The variety may be labelled Aiv.

The hoard includes four further examples of the pennies that during the study of the Glenluce hoard were first classified as Aiii (plain pellet reverse) and then separated as a new late variety, Di. Though certainty has not been reached their strong affinities with class A make it safer to revert to the original arrangement. The mint-mark on Rhoneston no. 39 is clearly not floral but a cross slightly fourchée. The bust and wispy hair are similar to those of class A and the lettering also hollow-sided, though the R is distinctive and unlike the B-shaped letter common to class A pennies and Group I groats. The lettering has indeed resemblances to that of group V groats, post-1484, which was the main reason for the later attribution. A small feature of this variety is that there is no cross at the beginning of the reverse inscription⁶. A further peculiarity is the irregularity of the royal title: *Rex* is altogether omitted⁷ from the Glenluce die (nos. 33 and 81) repeated at Rhoneston (no. 37), and from another new one (no. 39); another Rhoneston coin (no. 40) displays the hitherto unpublished feature for any Scottish billon penny⁸ of having the royal name and title repeated on the reverse in place of the normal mint signature. The die-linking between these few coins might be thought to argue for a date of issue close to the deposit of the hoards, but among the nine coins definitely of class A in Rhoneston there were probably two pairs of die identities and two of the other five coins shared an obverse die. One of the great difficulties in considering the position of these pennies is inherent in the whole series—there is no direct relationship between the silver groats and the billon pennies. There are many points of contact but equally tantalising discrepancies, where pennies have features common to more than one groat issue; personal idiosyncracies of die-sinking may occur on coins of different denominations not exactly contemporaneous.

¹ Only one obverse die of the first issue is recorded: S. fig. 93 for the true coin, and NC 1956, pl. xxii, no. 24 for mule of first and second issues (with normal reverse).

² P. 378. The relevant sentence on p. 371 should read 'The reverse die has lettering more akin to the second- than to the first-issue groats . . .'.
³ Stewart coll. ex Lockett xi, 854; different dies from Glenluce no. 16.

⁴ The absence at that time of this variety from the known pence of James III was remarked upon

in the Glenluce report, p. 369.

⁵ E.g. Burns figs. 567-8.

⁶ This was a feature also of Glenluce no. 32, which was then left with one other only in class Aiii. Cf. also B. fig. 564A (the cross printed on p. 161 of the text does not appear in the illustration), and B. fig. 566.

⁷ Cf. also B. fig. 564.

⁸ The royal name and title occurs on the reverse of some fleur-de-lis groats of the third variety (James II), e.g. B. fig. 496B.

There was no penny of class B, corresponding to the group II groats, at Rhoneston and only one at Glenluce, and it can be suggested that its great rarity may be due to its having been struck not with the bulk of the base group II (thistle-and-mullet) groats early in the 1470's and perhaps thereafter too, but soon before 1484 when a new variety of group II groat was struck¹: both have a neat form of cross and small slipped trefoils as on the gold unicorns issued immediately after 1484. There was also a short-lived issue of placks about this time withdrawn in 1485 to provide silver for the new groat coinage². The bust on class B is very like that on late class C coins, towards 1484.

Both hoards contained long runs of class C pence, those struck alongside the groats of groups III and IV. A subdivision into varieties Ci—Cv proved possible on the basis of the Glenluce material. Cv (late, with small head) was subdivided into Cva and Cvb according to whether the coins had or had not pellets on the interstitial spikes of the crown. It now proves possible to make a similar subdivision of Civ (late, with larger head); Rhoneston nos. 51 and 52 may be classed as Civa, with the pellets, and nos. 53–5 as Cvb, without. Few pieces do not fit quite easily into the classification. No. 74, however, is a new variant, with a tall bust, colon stops³, and the mint name spelt *Edienbour*: colon stops are characteristic of the group IV groats themselves, c. 1482, and are found on some possibly contemporary placks (e.g. Glenluce no. 14, and Rhoneston no. 29). Two other pennies, nos. 75 and 76, from the same obverse die with an unusual form of bust, may be assigned to the general period of class Civ.

The Glenluce and Rhoneston hoards were buried at a time which should make them particularly authoritative for James III's post-1484 billon coinage of which little was previously known. The bushy-haired bust comparable with the three-quarter-face portrait groats (group VI c. 1485–9, James's largest single issue of silver)⁴ was previously known from four coins, with two more from Glenluce. Rhoneston contained four further examples, but there seem in all to be only four known obverse dies and seven reverse dies—see Appendix—indicating a very limited original striking of pennies in this issue. This corresponds with other evidence that the Scottish mint in the later 15th century concentrated either on silver coinage or on billon, but not on both in any quantity at the same time.

These were the latest coins in the Rhoneston hoard, which had none of the early James IV pennies (1489 +) well represented at Glenluce.

Acknowledgment. Thanks are due to Mr. A. E. Truckell, M.A., of Dumfries Burgh Museum for securing the hoard and reporting it to the Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer by whom it was claimed for the Crown.

The hoard is preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities, except for thirteen coins in Dumfries Museum (nos. 1, 2, 8, 14, 21, 25, 31, 60, 66, 69, 73, 82, 83). The National Museum is indebted to Mr. Stewart for identifying the coins and writing the notes and draft catalogue, which have been revised and prepared for publication by the Keeper, Mr. Stevenson.

¹ *NC* XVI (1956), pp. 306–7.

² Stewart, 'The Identity of "The New Plakkis Last Cuneyit" withdrawn in 1485', *BNJ* XXVIII (1957), pp. 317–29.

³ B. fig. 617A also has colon stops, but an entirely different style of bust.

⁴ Though it is hoped that the past controversies

over the attribution of this issue will not revive after *BNJ* XXVII (1953), pp. 182–94, it may be noticed that Sir George Macdonald himself soon had serious doubts about the conclusions he drew from the Perth hoard: *PSAS* LVI (1921–22), pp. 322–3—Cowhill, Whitburn, hoard.

Appendix—Die Analysis of James III class D pennies.

Obv. dies:

- A. Hexafoil rosette mm.; annulet above and each side of crown.
- B. Annulet above and each side of crown.
- C. Annulet each side of crown (dexter annulet has arrow mark attached, \odot), and mark (:: ?) above.
- D. Annulet, with adjacent dots, each side of crown.

Rev. dies:

- a. Rosette mm.
- b. Marks below pellet-annulet groups.
- c. No extra marks.
- d. Extra points below pellet-annulet groups.
- e. Rosette mm.; additional long line in 4th qtr.
- f. Annulets have dot in centre.
- g. Rosette mm. ?; mark below pellet-annulet group in 2nd qtr.

Combinations:

- A/a: Richardson 86 (S. fig. 118).
- B/b: Richardson 87 (B. fig. 650 A).
- B/c: Glenluce 83 (B.M.).
- B/d: Glenluce 82.
- C/d: Rhoneston 77.
- C/e: Richardson 88.
- D/e: Rhoneston 78.
- D/f: Rhoneston 79 and 80.
- D/g: Stewart coll. ex Parsons.

List of Coins from Rhoneston, Dumfriesshire.

Classification based on I. H. Stewart, *The Scottish Coinage* cited as S. References also to E. Burns, *Coinage of Scotland*, B; Richardson's *Cat. of Scottish Coins in the National Museum of Antiquities*, R; and list of coins from Glenluce Hoard, *BNJ* XXIX (1959) 377-81, G.

Nos. 1, 2, 8, 14, 21, 25, 31, 60, 66, 69, 73, 82 and 83 in Dumfries Museum; remainder in National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland.

Coins illustrated on plate XIV are marked *

For inscriptions on coins, Roman capital letters are used in the catalogue except h, n, m which represent the Gothic forms. The main difference between the letters on the coins and those as printed are that A on coins is normally barred across the top and not the centre, C is often with a closed front, E is rounded and like C often closed and G is a curly letter without a square front. For the exact forms reference should be made to the illustrations.

ENGLISH

1.	Edward III, London groat, pre-treaty class C ?, (1351-2); much clipped and worn.	53.1 gr.
2.	Henry V, London groat class C, mullet on sinister shoulder; clipped	51.2 gr.
3.	Henry V, London penny. class D, mullet dr. and annulet sr. of crown	12.3 gr.
*4.	Henry VI, Calais groat, rosette-mascle issue; new cross-ends tooled after clipping	45.1 gr.
5.	Henry VI, Calais half-groat, rosette-mascle, much clipped	34.4 gr.
6.	Henry VI, York penny, cross-pellet issue, saltires (?) by neck, pellets by crown.	13.4 gr.
7.	Edward IV, London groat, 1st reign, light issue, Vd (1464-5); unworn	47.8 gr.

SCOTTISH

JAMES II

Groats, 2nd coinage, 2nd issue, Edinburgh;

8. B. 14, fig. 530, same dies 50.1 gr.

- *9. *Obv.* B. 30a fig. 549a (Edinburgh)—broken E; bad flaw.

This die also B. 40 (Roxburgh), 41 and 41a (Perth).

Rev. crown D N () R ^(x)/_x | TECTORM | SZLIBR | ATORMS
VIL | ^x/_x LAE | DINB | VRG

broken E, crowns in 2nd and 4th leg. qrs.

57.8 gr.

(A third Edinburgh *rev.* for this *obv.* recently acquired by NMAS reads

crown, DNS ^x/_x P | TECTORM | SZLIBR | ATORMS
crown, VIL | L ^x/_x AE | DINB | VRG

broken E, crowns 2nd and 4th qrs., saltires between the pellets)

*Pennies, 2nd coinage, 2nd issue, Edinburgh, except 16 and 17—Perth.**Early type*

- *10. *Obv.* same die as B. 3a, now read + IACOVS · DE · GRA REX SORV; broken E
Rev. cross fourchée VIL/LA × (or ★?) E/DIN/ BVRG; crown in 1st leg. qr. and 3 pellets enclosing annulet in other qrs.; same die as G. 15, but initial cross fourchée not then recognised. 18.1 gr.

Normal reverse type—nothing between pellets.

11. Same dies as B. 3a (and foregoing *obv.*)
Rev. VIL ×/LAE × /DINB / VRG; broken E on both sides 9.1 gr.
12. *Rev.* VIL ^(x)/_x / () AE / D (); broken E; chipped 9.4 gr.
13. *Obv.*—VSDEI— *Rev.* ^x/_x VIL () / ^x/_x LA (); square flan 13.7 gr.
14. *Obv.* smooth; *Rev.* VI—/ VIG; ? same die as B. 4a and G. 21 8.5 gr.
- *15. *Obv.* same die as B. 6a fig 555A (which has saltires between *rev.* pellets), now read + (?) IACO(R?)EIGRA REXSCOTRVN; lis at each side of neck (and on neck, not recognisable on this coin).
Rev. () IL ^x/_x / ^x/_x L × AE / DINB / × VRG 12.5 gr.
- *16. Perth; same dies as G. 22, *obv.* same die as B. 7, fig 556 (Edinburgh); dexter hair v. high up. crown IACOBV () GRA() XS
Rev. VIL / LAD / EPE / R(Th); broken E. 10.8 gr.

Mules, saltire/plain.

- *17. Perth; *Obv.* () IACOBS(); saltires by bust.
Rev. VI() / () / E ^x/_x FE / RTH; broken E; coppery 9.1 gr.
18. *Obv.* smooth, ? saltires by bust.
Rev. V(I)L / LAE / DIN / V() 10.8 gr.

Saltires by bust and between rev. pellets.

- *19. *Obv.* () COVS ^(x)/_x DE(); saltires by bust; coppery.
Rev. VIL ^(x)/_x / LAE ^(x)/_x / DN(?)P [?]/_x | V ?RG; *rev.* saltires? 7.8 gr.
- *20. *Rev.* VIL () / () E ^x/_x / DINB ^(x)/_x / VRG; saltires like quatrefoils with central dot, as frequently on groats (B. p. 80) 7.5 gr.
21. Illegible, chipped 8.3 gr.

Groats, Edinburgh, S. Group III.

- *22. *Obv.* B. 18-20, fig. 591-2, same die
Rev. + DNS[×] P | (LA[×] E) | ms[×] L | IBERAT
 + VIL | | DINB | VRGH
 Mullets 1st and 3rd leg. grs. 37.8 gr.
- *23. *Obv.* + IACOBVS[×] DEI[×] GRA[×] REX[×] SCOTTORVM[×]; flatter, broader crown, saltires by neck.
Rev. B. 20, fig. 592, same die—correct reading /IBRATO/; unworn 39.3 gr.
 [Note: Burns 17 fig. 590 really reads /TETOR[×] / on rev.]

Groats, Edinburgh, S. Group IV.

- *24. B. 23 fig. 605, same dies—correct reading REX. 35.8 gr.
 25. B. 27 and R. 28, same dies; *obv.* B. fig. 606 36.4 gr.

Placks, Edinburgh, 1st issue; initial cross fourchée.

- *26. *Obv.* + IACOBVS ()[×] RA[×] BCN[×] SEOTORVM
 X sideways, cf. G. 14. (from which delete R[×], diplographic error), which has however mixture of stops : and [×] on both sides. For sideways X on placks see BNJ XXVIII, 317-29, and no. 27 below; on a penny, no. 30 (B. 1a, fig. 562A) below; and on a groat, B. fig. 561 (group I).
Rev. Same die as B. 1. + VIL / LA⁺ ED / in(+)BV / ⁺RGH⁺; chipped 31.8 gr.
- *27. *Obv.* + IACOBVS[×] D[×] GRA[×] REX[×] / (sideways) ⁺SCOTORV[×]
Rev. + VIL[×] / LA[×] ED / INBV / ()RGH[×]; the G is not the large letter of B. 1-2; chipped. 30.3 gr.
- *28. *Obv.* + IACOBVS[×] DEI[×] GRA[×] REX[×] SCOTTORVM
Rev. + VIL / LA[×] (?)E[×] / DINR / VRGH; chipped. 30.2 gr.
- *29. *Obv.* + IACOBVS (.) D (.) GRA (.) REX . SCOTTORVM; complete R; for colon stops see G. p. 371.
Rev. + VIL^([×]) / LA^([×]) ED / in : BV / RGH[×]; small G, defective R. 32.1 gr.

Billon Pennies, all Edinburgh. Where ascertainable, initial cross fourchée
Class Aii—saltires in rev. quarters, cf. B. fig. 562-3.

30. Same dies as B. 1a, fig. 562A; bust double-punched
 + (IA)COBVS[×] D[×] GRA[×] REX[×] (sideways)
Rev. + VIL / LA[×] / EDIN / BVRG 8.8 gr.
31. Same dies, chipped 4.0 gr.
- *32. *Obv.* ()GBA + BEN; saltires very haphazard on rev.; squarish flan. 6.9 gr.
33. *Obv.* same die; neater *rev.*; chipped. 6.0 gr.
34. *Obv.* + I()BVSDEIGBAR(?)EX
Rev. double struck. 6.8 gr.
35. *Obv.* + IACBVS()CO
Rev. + VIL / LAE / () / BVVB 6.6 gr.
36. *Obv.* + IACOBVS[×] (?)D[×] (?) ()
Rev. + VIL / LAE / DIM / BVVB 7.5 gr.

Aiii—quarters plain (these include the 'Di' of Glenluce Hoard) cf. B. fig 564-6.

- *37. *Obv.* () IACOBVS[×] DEI[×] GRACI; same die as G. 33 and 81, now note stops.
Rev. VIL / LAD / EDI / NBV 11.7 gr.

- *38. *Obv.* () OBVS^xD^xGRA^xRE ()
Rev. VIL / LA () / () IN^x / BV () R (?) 5.5 gr.
39. *Obv.* + () S^xDEI^xGRA^x
Rev. VIL / LA^xE / () B / VRG 6.6 gr.
- *40. *Obv.* () COBVS^xDEI^x (); same die as G. plate XXIV fig. B, and bust and head from same punches as B. fig. 564.
Rev. (? trefoil) IAC / OBVS / DE (I^x ?) / (GRA ?) 8.3 gr.

Aiv (new variety)—annulets in rev. quarters.

- *41. *Obv.* + IACOB(SDI?)GBABEXSC; broken E.
Rev. double struck; chipped. 9.7 gr.
- *42. Probably same dies; chipped. 4.6 gr.

Class Ci—crown of 5 lis, cf. B. fig. 595.

- *43. *Obv.* + IACOBVS^xDE^xGA^xREX
Rev. + VIL / LAE / DINB / VRG^(x) 6.3 gr.
44. *Obv.* same die.
Rev. () AEDI / BVR / ^xG(h^x); saltires between pellets; same die as 53 below. 6.3 gr.
45. *Obv.* same die as B. 7, fig. 595 now read
 + IACOBVS^xDE^xG(A^xREX).
Rev. + VILL / A^xEDI / () / RGH^x. 6.8 gr.
46. *Obv.* () ACOBVS^x(DE^x)GR().
Rev. + VILL / A () / () HBV / RGI^x. 6.8 gr.
47. *Obv.* + IA() BVS^xDE^xGRA^xREX.
Rev. + VIL / LAE / DIN^x / BVRG. 7.2 gr.
48. *Obv.* + IACOBVS^xDE^xGRA^xREX; amplified from 49–50 (same obv. die).
Rev. + VIL / () / () n^x / BVR^x; squarish flan. 6.9 gr.
49. *Obv.* same die. *Rev.* + VIL / LAE / DIN / BVR^x. 10.0 gr.
50. *Obv.* same die. *Rev.* + VIL / LAE(^x?) / DIN^x / BV(). 6.9 gr.

*Civ—wide shoulders (cf. silver pennies Group IV), the larger head as B. fig. 612.**(a) pellets on spikes between lis on crown.*

- *51. *Obv.* + IACOBVS() I^xGRA() REXSC; same die as G. 64?
Rev. () / A^xEDI / n^xBV^x / RGH^x; same die as G. 64. 8.1 gr.
52. *Obv.* + IACOBVS(reversed) () GRA^xREX^xS(reversed) c; same die as G. 66.
Rev. + VILL / AED / mB / VRGH; same die as G. 66. 4.9 gr.

(b) sharp spikes on crown, + stops on obv., cf. B. fig. 617.

- *53. *Obv.* () OBVS() D⁺GRAC() RE() SC; large G.
Rev. Same die as 44; saltires between pellets; chipped. 6.5 gr.
- *54, 55. *Obv.* + IACOBVS⁺D⁺GRA⁺REX⁺SCO.
Rev. () L / LAE^x / DIN^xB / V();
 Extra points between pellets. Two coins from same dies, one silvery, the other coppery coloured; both chipped. 6.5 and 3.5 gr.

*Cv—similar but smaller head, cf. B. figs. 613–5.**(a) pellets on spikes of crown.*

- *56. *Obv.* + IACOBVS^xDEI^x() RA^xREX^xSCO;
 same obv. die as 57–60, and as G. 78.
Rev. + VILL / AED / IN^xB / VRGH; silvery 6.5 gr.

57. *Obv.* same die.
Rev. + VILL / A^xED / In(BV) / (Rgh)^x; same dies as G. 78; coppery. 5.1 gr.
58. *Obv.* do. *Rev.*)^x / DIN() / B(5.5 gr.
59. *Obv.* do. *Rev.*)^x (?VILL) / (?A^x)EDI / n^xB() / Rgh^x 10.8 gr.
60. *Obv.* do. *Rev.* almost illegible; coppery 7.4 gr.
61. *Obv.* + IACOBV(S^x)DEI^xG(RA^x)REX().
Rev. () / A^xEDI / nBV^x / Rgh^x. 6.3 gr.
62. *Obv.* same die as 61.
Rev. + VIL / ?LA^xE / DINB / VRG() 4.6 gr.
63. *Obv.* + IACOBVS^xDEI^xGRA^xREX^xS^x.
Rev. ()VIL / LA^xE / DIR^x / BVR(). 6.8 gr.
64. *Obv.* ()OBVS^xDEI^xGRA().
Rev. () / ()E / DEINB / VRgh; coppery. 6.8 gr.
65. *Obv.* ()IACOBV()DEI^xGR(A^x)REX^xSC; same die as G. 67?
Rev. + VILL / A^xED / () / Rgh; large G; double struck. 5.5 gr.

(b) sharp spikes on crown, cf. B. fig 616-7.

66. *Obv.* + IACOBVS().
Rev. () / LA^xE / (). 5.4 gr.
67. *Obv.* ()RE(X^xS)COT().
Rev. () / LA^x(?)E / DIN^x / VRG(); large ornamental G. 8.9 gr.
- *68. *Obv.* + IACOB()A^xREX().
Rev. + V() / LA^xE / DINB / VRG(); large ornamental G. 8.1 gr.
69. *Obv.* illegible. *Rev.* —V / R—; ditto 9.1 gr.
70. *Obv.* + IAC()XREX.
Rev. + VIL / LA() / DINB(?) / VRG^x; ditto. 7.1 gr.
71. *Obv.* ()DEI()RA()REX^xS; bust lopsided to dexter as on 72-3.
Rev. + V(IL) / LA() / DIN^(x) / BVRG; ditto; chipped. 5.4 gr.
72. *Obv.* similar to 71. *Rev.* prob. same die as 73; / LA^xED / 5.7 gr.
73. *Obv.* similar, double struck
Rev. + VI() / LA^xED / INB(?) / VRG(). 6.1 gr.



C, variant (crown uncertain).

- *74. Large module; tall bust with long neck (?cf. groats of Group IV).
Obv. ()IACOBVS : D : GRA(:?)REXS(); n.b. colon stops (cf. B. 617A, and plack No. 29 above).
Rev. + VIL / LAE / DIER / B(o?)VR (cf. EDEINBOVR on Group IV silver pennies B. figs. 594a and 609-11). 10.1 gr.

Uncertain, probably temp. Class C.

- *75. *Obv.* + IAC()ECOT.
Rev. + VILL / A^xED / INBV / Rgh^x;
 neat letters as on some Class C iv (e.g. G. 64). 7.2 gr.
- *76. *Obv.* same die as 75.
Rev. + VIL^(x) / () / DINB / VRgh; chipped. 3.4 gr.

Class D—bushy haired bust; ends of rev. floreated cross fourchée, as on Group VI groats; annulets between pellets on rev.; cf. B. fig. 650A.

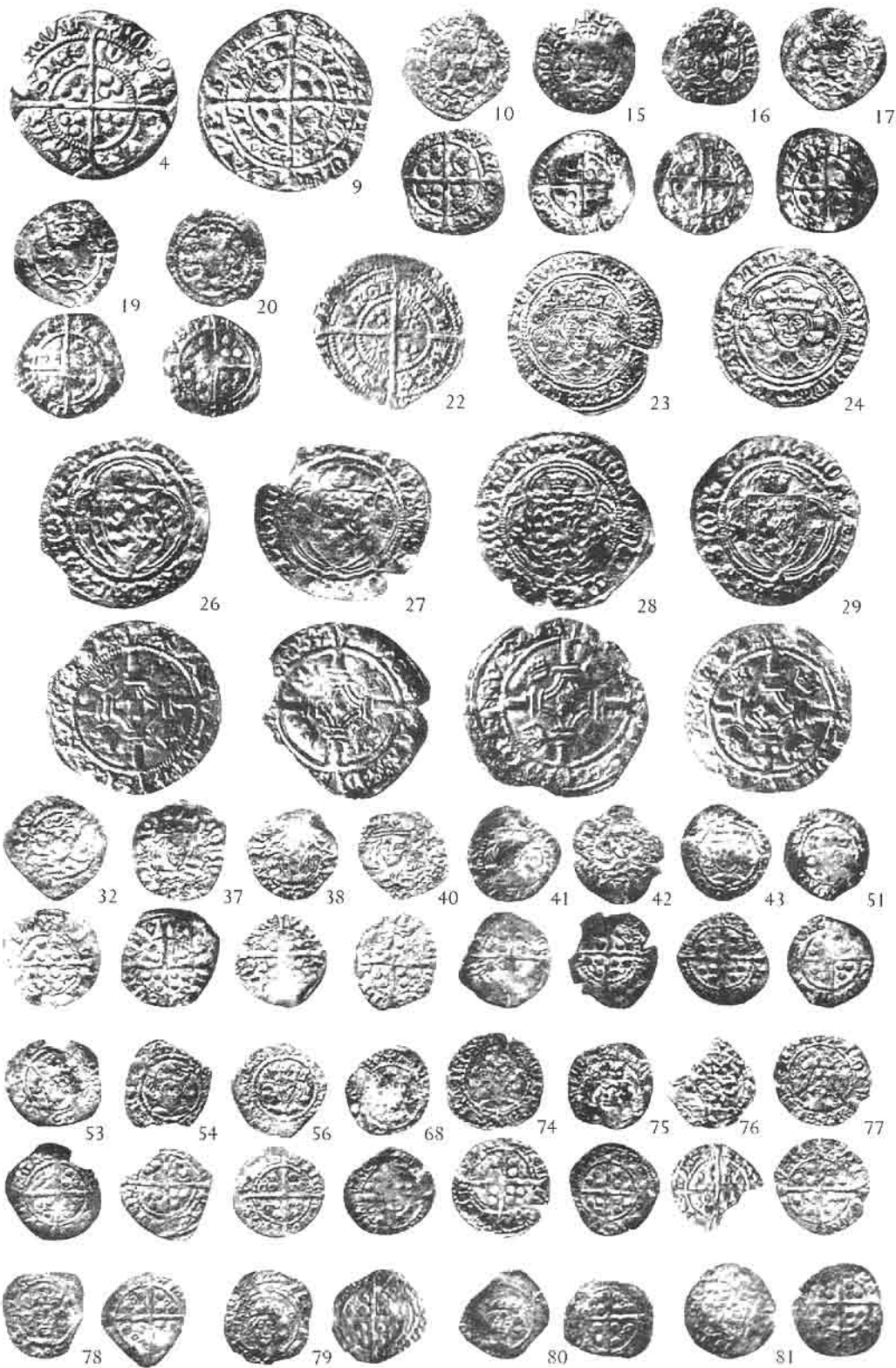
- *77. *Obv.* m.m. ? hexafoil rosette, IACOBVS^o_oD^o_oG^o_oREX^o_oSCO(R?)  to dr. of crown, o to sr.,
::(?) above; same die as R. 88.
Rev.  VII / LAE / () / VRG; extra point below each annulet; same die as G. 82. 6.9 gr.
- *78. *Obv.* Legend similar; annulets by crown have small dots adjacent; same obv. die
as 79 and 80, and coin in Stewart collection.
Rev. m.m. rosette, same die as R. 88 which reads
() IL / LA^o_oE / (); additional long line in 4th quarter. 6.5 gr.
- *79. *Obv.* same die.
Rev. Annulets have central dot; same die as 80? Double struck, squarish flan. 7.4 gr.
- *80. Same dies as 79?
Rev. Annulets with central dot; rhomboidal flan. 9.5 gr.

Counterfeit.

- *81. *Rev.*)VI / TVI / (); perhaps copied from James III Class A. 6.5 gr.

Unidentifiable.

82. ? James II 2nd coinage penny, worn very thin. ?VIL^x_x 5.2 gr.
83. Broken and double struck. 4.9 gr.



CHRONOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF THE PINECONE-MASCLE COINAGE OF HENRY VI

By HERBERT SCHNEIDER

A PINECONE-MASCLE noble of Henry VI illustrated on Plate XVI, 33, was sold in the Rooms of Messrs. Glendining on 19 May 1964 (lot 283) and attracted my attention mainly because of the unusual features of the reverse. Neither obverse nor reverse die of this coin was listed in Whitton's paper on the heavy coinage of Henry VI (*BNJ* XXIII) and the legends read as follows: (§ = pinecone)

Obv. HENRIC' § DI' § GRA' § REX ◇ ANGL Z FRANC § DNS § HIB

The obverse legend is thus a mixtum compositum between Whitton's die 21 which also reads HIB and die 24 on which the saltires before and after z were omitted. The mark z is curiously made up on the obverse of the noble under review: to the normal small Lombardic letter I a sort of pothook was attached, and the standard z punch of the period which we find on all the other dies was not used, unless it was partly obliterated by the Lombardic letter I which may have been, strangely enough, punched over the z mark. The pinecones are predominantly of Whitton's variety No. 3, but there is clearly a cone No. 2 after FRANC and an unrecorded pinecone variety after DI. This resembles Whitton's pinecone No. 1a but the exceptionally long stem curls to the left instead of right.



The reverse legend is similar to that of Whitton's die No. 21: (§ = pinecone)

IHC' § AVT § TRACIENS § PER § MEDIVM ◇ ILLORV § IBAT

but there is a pinecone after PER and we find the mascle after MEDIVM. The lis above the lion's head in the second quarter of the reverse is omitted and the cones are all of Whitton's variety No. 3.

The obverse of the coin yields a new die variety and yet a further pinecone design but presents basically no problems. By Whitton's standards of classification, its logical position on the list would be between die 24 and 25a where even the HIB legend would not be particularly disturbing considering that he placed one of the HIB dies at the very beginning and the other at the end of his list, anyway. (*BNJ* XXIII, p. 228). Noteworthy, however, but probably of no special significance is the fact that this appears to be the only obverse die of a pinecone-mascle noble on which pinecones of different designs were mixed—a feature not unusual on the reverse of the coins.

To assign the corresponding place in Whitton's list to the reverse die meets, however, with formidable obstacles, considering the ILLORV legend on the one hand and the absence

of the lis mark in the second quarter on the other. Although the mascle after *MEDIVM* is unpublished and appears to be unique it creates no chronological problem, for it could have been placed in this unusual position at any time during the pinecone-mascle coinage. In contradistinction, the spelling *ILLORV* points very clearly towards the earliest reverse die of Whitton's list (No. 21) with an identical legend which occurs nowhere else, but if we moved the coin higher up and placed it between die 21 and 22, the cones on the obverse would be out of place.

Whitton took it for granted—and the assumption is entirely conjectural—that the minute changes in the shape of the cones provided the key for the order in which the coins were struck. Actually, before and after the pinecone-mascle coinage there is no evidence of the use of rosette or leaf stops for privy marking, and the cones would have been a particularly unsuitable punch for this purpose. For any striking weakness or the inevitable double striking makes the identification of the cones variety exceedingly difficult, and as minute a puncheon as this produces the most astonishing distortions if it is applied to the die at the slightest angle. The Master Worker at the Tower must have been fully aware of this and a larger and different design would, I think, have been adopted had the cones really been singled out for a coherent system of privy marking. Whether all the pinecone varieties Whitton has listed are in fact varieties in the accepted sense of the word is debatable: in some cases the almost microscopic difference may be due to the distortions referred to above, and in other cases one wonders whether the same punch in different stages of breakage, repair and recutting was not recorded more than once.

Mr. Whitton has very neatly arranged the sequence of the pinecone-mascle nobles on the basis of the cone varieties on the obverse. If we examine the corresponding reverse dies, however, we find disturbing evidence of 'muling'—if the term can be used in this case—so far as the pinecone varieties are concerned. (cf. *BNJ* XXIII, p. 228). To make things worse, Spink's had a pinecone noble in 1951 with cones 3 on the obverse but legend as Whitton's die 26, and on the reverse cones 2 and 8 mixed with the legend of die 24. I took a cast of it which was unfortunately destroyed in the inundations in Antwerp in February, 1952, so that only the written record of it remains, but the coin is no doubt still extant somewhere in the U.K. However, even without this specimen Whitton's list of the reverse dies of the pinecone-mascle nobles is somewhat illogical. Cones 1, 2 and 3 occur on rosette/pinecone mules, and we find cones 3 and 8 mixed on die 25d. By Whitton's standards we must therefore assume that cones 3 were used all through the pinecone-mascle coinage. Considering the evidence of Spink's noble referred to above, the same applies to cones 2. Whitton's record of obverse die 22 with cones 1a combined with a reverse die showing cones 8 and providing a die link with noble 29b adds to the confusion, and I find it difficult to understand why he assigned such paramount importance to what is perhaps no more than the inevitable little differences of execution of a very small punch. For there are so many tangible signs of privy marking apart from the pinecones that there is absolutely no reason to assume that they constituted the sole chronological criterion.

On the obverse, the absence or presence of punctuation before and after *z* may have no special significance, and a cone instead of the usual saltire before *z* on one die is perhaps as accidental as the absence of a cone—replaced by an abbreviation mark after *DNS*—on another. However, we find *HIB*, *HYB* or *HIYB* on the obverse of pinecone nobles and this can hardly be regarded as unintentional.

The reverse dies read ILLORV or ILLORVM, MEDIVM, MECIVM, or MEDIVVM,¹ and even if we assign no importance to the occasional omission of the abbreviation mark after IHC and the unusual position of a cone below the letter I in IBAT on one die, we cannot possibly ignore the spelling of the word TRANSIENS. This occurs as TRACIENS, TRNCIENS, TRANCIES, TRANCENS or TRANCES, and there can be no question of an isolated error. For the matter of that it is really quite unthinkable that the mascle should have been placed sometimes after PER, sometimes after MEDIVM and sometimes after ILLORVM in a completely meaningless and haphazard manner.

The contention that only the cones were used for privy marking seems therefore rather improbable, particularly if we consider the manner in which they were mixed, and there is no evidence that they served a purpose other than serial marking.

What are we to make, however, of the missing lis mark in the second quarter of the reverse? One could dismiss the anomaly as a mistake on the part of the die sinker, but I feel that this explanation, although not impossible, is improbable and will satisfy no-one. For the obvious problem will have to be faced: does the absence of the lis mark on the reverse constitute a link with the leaf-mascle coinage or not?

Let us recall the position of the lis punch on the obverse and reverse of Henry VI's nobles between 1427 and 1435 as recorded by Whitton:

	Obverse: Lis by sword arm	Reverse: Lis in one quarter
Rosette coinage	yes	yes
Pinecone coinage	no	yes
Leaf-mascle	no	no

The lis appeared on the coins when the rosette nobles superseded the annulet issue in the year 1427. On the obverse, it was omitted on the pinecone nobles of 1430/34 and, until now, we had every reason to believe that it was maintained on the reverse until the leaf-mascle nobles were introduced in 1434². Have we now tangible evidence that the lis mark on the reverse was actually abandoned before the end of the pinecone-mascle issue, and should the noble of the Glendining sale on 19 May 1964 be placed at the very bottom of Whitton's list?

However tempting and logical such a conclusion may be, I feel that an entirely new arrangement of the pinecone nobles should not be based on an isolated coin so long as a modicum of doubt remains whether the omission of the lis mark on the reverse was deliberate or due to a mistake. Apart from that, one is instinctively reluctant to upset the classification of a paper such as Mr. Whitton's which comes so very close to perfection if we consider the numismatic evidence at present available.

If the varying designs of the pinecone puncheons are ruled out as criteria of establishing the chronological sequence of the dies, it must be admitted that several other classifications of the coins would be possible and plausible. Only the discovery of a major hoard may allow us to solve this problem and to list the nobles in their correct order of issue. For the time being it would, I think, be wise to leave Whitton's list of the pinecone-mascle coins undisturbed, but to regard it as a statistical rather than a strictly chronological record.

¹ Recorded at Spink's in 1966 from a noble struck from Whitton's obv. die 29. The reverse die is almost identical with 29b except for the spelling MEDIVVM.

² No true half-noble of the pinecone coinage is known but on the two surviving rosette-pinecone mules which are from different reverse dies, the

lis is absent. This, however, is almost irrelevant, for the lis punch is sometimes missing even on the obverse of rosette half-nobles, and markings of nobles and half-nobles differ so frequently that the evidence of the latter can hardly be taken into account for the solution of the problem under review.

TWO TUDOR NOTES

By T. F. REDDAWAY

A CANTERBURY MINT-MASTER'S INDENTURE OF 1534

The study of English coinage in the reign of Henry VIII is often concentrated on the products of the royal mints in London and the environs of London. Yet, before the reorganisation and devaluation during the last years of that reign, the three ecclesiastical mints of Canterbury, York and Durham, were still playing an interesting if subordinate part in the provision of coin for their immediate areas. That of Canterbury can be illustrated from documents which still survive, including that rarity, a mint-master's indenture¹. The first document is a letter of 17 November 1526 from Warham, the archbishop, to the all-powerful Wolsey archbishop of York. The archbishop, he wrote, had always had a mint in the palace of Canterbury, to the great convenience of the King's subjects in Kent and elsewhere. He wished to order it according to Wolsey's new ordinances, proclaimed on the fifth of November, revaluing the coinage. He did not desire this for his own great profit but for the ease of those in Kent who found a journey to Canterbury more convenient than a journey to the Tower. Therefore he was sending Ewyn Tomson, the keeper of his mint, to learn Wolsey's intention. Tomson, on Wolsey's order, consulted Robert Amadas, one of the three London goldsmiths who were deputies for Lord Mountjoy, then master worker of the Tower mint. The result was satisfactory and all three ecclesiastical mints continued to coin, Canterbury having authority to coin half groats, pence and half-pence.

The terms on which this was done are shown in the indenture of 16 January 1534² which follows this introduction. When compared with that of 1465 for the royal mints³, Canterbury's appears as a miniature of a Tower indenture, with the archbishop in place of the king and the archbishop's treasurer or controller in place of the king's warden, but Warham's remark that he did not do it for his own great profit is borne out by his seigniorage. He received only one penny as compared with the Crown's twopence, though the total of one shilling remained the same, the mint-master receiving 11d. instead of the 10d. of the Tower. The system of bringing metal to the mint for coining and of guarantors for the master worker also followed the model of the Tower, but with two significant variants. The time within which the mint-master was bound to deliver coin was twelve months, not eight days, and there was definite provision for the speedy replacement of any guarantor who had died. Kent had more leisure and fewer men of substance than London.

Most interesting of all is the supervision of the trial of the pyx. For the Tower mint, the trial took place before the king's council: at Canterbury, according to the indenture, before the archbishop. Such a removal of all royal control seems unlikely, and the answer may lie in a letter of December 1537 from Cranmer to Cromwell. Cranmer had written to the wardens of the Company of Goldsmiths of London requiring them to view the pyx 'as well for my discharge as to the intent the king's highness may be more substantially served in his coins

¹ Reproduced below. For the convenience of readers the spelling has been modernised.

² Lambeth Palace Library, MS. cartae misc. II/3.

³ *BNJ*, XXV, 53-57.

there¹. The wardens had answered that they would gladly do so if 'they may have commandment from one of the Council besides me [Cranmer], for so in times past they have accomplished my predecessors' request herein and not else as they say'. Cranmer therefore asked Cromwell to sign the order he enclosed 'the master and controller of the mint being now in town and they may thereby have expedition in the matter'.

C. A. Whitton believed that the Act of Supremacy (1534) ended the bishops' privilege of coining². Cranmer's letter of 1537 suggests that it still continued, and a unique entry in the records of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths of London not only brings positive proof but reveals the actual working of the system. On 6 December 1537, by virtue of the letters from the archbishop and Cromwell 'assays were made at Goldsmiths' Hall . . . of the money lately coined in the mint of Canterbury in the time of William Tyllesworthe, the mint master under my lord the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the . . . three years and eight months last past'³. Those present included three of the wardens of the Goldsmiths' Company, including Alderman Martin Bowes then one of the master-workers of the Tower mint, three former wardens and a senior liveryman, the Company's assayer, its clerk and its beadle. The archbishop was represented by Richard Nevile and by the controller of his mint, the Crown by the Controller of the Tower mint. The proceedings were not lengthy.

'William Tyllysworthe brought in before the said persons his pyx of the said mint and there in the presence of all the said persons it was opened and therein was found in half groats, pence and half pence to the sum of £4 : 0s. : 6d., whereof was taken one pound weight . . . amounting to 45/- current money and so put into a melting pot. And there, after the ancient custom, was molten and cast into an ingot of which ingot there was made two assays [which] were there found good and lawful sterling according to the standard of England and agreeable with the contents of his indenture. In witness whereof we the said wardens . . . by virtue of the commandments by the said letters to us directed have caused this to be entered within the records of the said hall the day and year above said'.

The records do not show what happened in the interval between this trial of the pyx and the royal reorganisation in 1544/5 of the English mints when Tyllesworthe became under-treasurer of the Canterbury mint. That reorganisation lies outside the scope of this article, but it would seem that a study of the Canterbury coins in the years 1534-1545 might bring interesting results.

THIS indenture made the 16th day of January the 25th year of the reign of King Henry the VIIIth [1534] Between the right reverend father in God Thomas [Cranmer], archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England and of the Apostolic See legate, on the one part, and William Tillesworth of London, goldsmith, on that other part, witnesseth that the said lord archbishop has made, ordained and established by these presents the said William master and worker of his moneys of silver within his mint in the city of Canterbury, to have, hold and occupy by himself or his sufficient deputy or deputies according to the form of the indenture which William has undertaken before the said lord archbishop to make the same moneys under the manner and form that followeth, that is to say to make three manner of moneys of silver that is to wit one piece of them running for 2d. which shall be called the half groat. And there shall be 270 such pieces in the lb. weight of the weight of troy. And the second piece running for 1d which shall be called a sterling. And there shall be 540 such pieces in the lb. weight aforesaid. And the third money shall be called a 'halpeny' which shall be worth half the sterling. And there shall be 1080 such pieces in the lb. weight aforesaid. And all the said moneys of silver so made shall be of the assay of a standard of the old sterling that is to say in every lb. weight of silver of these moneys shall be 11 ounces and 2 penny

¹ Public Record Office, S.P. Henry VIII 1/126, p. 222.

² *BNJ*, XXVI, 58.

³ The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths of London, Wardens' accounts and Court minutes. F. p. 88.

weights of fine silver and 18 penny weight of alloy, every penny weight containing 24 grains. And every lb. weight of troy of the moneys of silver aforesaid shall hold in number and be in value 45s. sterling of all the pieces aforesaid. Of which moneys of silver the said master shall take up for coinage for every lb. weight of troy so made 12 pence by number of which 12 pence the said archbishop shall have 1 penny and all the residue of the same 12 pence the said master shall retain in his own hands for the stuff, wages, labour and all other charges by him to be borne, sustained and paid for and about the said business. And because that the said moneys of silver may not continually be made according in all things to the right standard in as much as any time in the default of the said master or his deputy or of the workers it may be made too strong or too feeble by too much or too little in weight or in alloy or in that one or in that other, the said lord archbishop willeth that when the said money of silver upon the assay before deliverance be found too strong or too feeble that is to say by two penny weights after old computation in the weight of a lb. of troy and no more the which two penny weight in that one or two penny weight in that other shall be called remedy for the master such money to be delivered for good. But if the default be found in the same money upon the same assays in weight or in alloy or in one or in that other over the two pennyweights in the lb. as is abovesaid that the deliverance shall cease and the money be challenged and adjudged by the assay less than good. Then at the costs of the said master to be new molten and reformed till it be put to point. And after that the said money of silver be assayed and proved for good in the manner as is aforesaid as for any deliverance of all the whole sum a portion of the same coins of silver shall be taken and put in a box that is to say of every 10 lbs. weight two penny weights of the said silver whereof the assays shall be made. Of which moneys so put in the said box to make the assays as is aforesaid the said master shall be allowed by the said lord archbishop in the account of the said master to the same lord archbishop to be made. And when the said pieces of silver be put in the said box they shall be sealed in the same with the seal of the treasurer or comptroller or of such other as the said archbishop shall depute for the time. And the same box sealed shall remain in the keeping of the said master or his deputy. And upon reasonable warning it shall be opened before the said archbishop. At the opening whereof the assays shall be made of that that shall be found within the said box after the most just manner as can be thought to be made by fire to the intent that if the said moneys of silver be found and proved good and [? covenable] after the assays aforesaid the said master to be quit and excused against the said archbishop unto that time. And if the said moneys of silver by the said assays which shall be made thus be found in weight or in alloy or in that one or in that other more feeble than the right standard be more or less as to the said remedies and more over that the same default be entered and recorded and the said master charged to make agreement with the said archbishop saving alway that in case by the said assays the said moneys of silver be found at any time passing the standard in goodness in weight or in alloy or in that one or in that other and by force of the remedies beforesaid that the said goodness be entered of record and hold place to the said master in the charge which he shall have when any default shall be found in the said moneys by the assays above said. And if it happen that the said moneys of silver upon any of the said just assays as shall be made of the above-said box in the manner afore rehearsed be it by weight or in alloy any default be found passing the remedy ordained for the said master as is above-said, the said master shall make fine and ransom to the said archbishop at his will. And the said master or his deputy be holden upon the receipt of silver to deliver bills to the merchants of the sums that they have brought thither, so that the merchants or their attorneys showing the said bills may be repaid within 12 months next ensuing the delivery thereof the merchants always to stand to the charge of the waste of melting of such silver as he bringeth to make it according to the right standard as is above-said. And for the covenants above-said to be holden and performed on the part of the said master and that he shall bear him towards the said archbishop well and convenable the said master hath made bodily oath afore the said archbishop and bindeth him, his heirs and executors to the same archbishop by these presents. And for more surety to make gre to the merchants of that that to them belongeth of silver which he shall receive in manner and form above-said while he shall be in the said offices the said master hath found four 'borrowes' to the said archbishop which hath bound them to the said archbishop in 400 marks sterling that he shall make gre to the merchants as is above-said that is to say each of them in one hundred marks. And also the said master granteth himself to be bound by his writing obligatory to the said lord archbishop in the sum of one hundred marks for the surety of the performance of all the covenants and grants on his part as is above-said to be observed and performed. And if that the said 'borrowes' or any of them hereafter during the time that the said master shall continue his said office fortune to decease then the said master within 20 days next ensuing the decease of the said 'borrowes' or any of them shall cause other

sufficient person or persons to be bound to the said archbishop in the place of him or them so deceasing for performing of the premises in like manner and form as the said 'borrowes' so deceasing as aforesaid before time were bounden. In witness whereof the said parties to these indentures interchangeably have put their seals. Given the day and year above rehearsed

per me

Wyllm Tyllsworth
goldssmyth

[from Lambeth Palace Library, cartae misc II/3, reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of that library].

THE ENGLISH ROYAL MINT AT CALAIS

IN 1363 Edward III established in Calais a royal mint with instructions to coin both gold and silver. For master worker he engaged Henry de Brusele (Brisele), a former master worker of the mint in the Tower of London, and the working arrangements and oversight of the new mint were closely tied to both Westminster and the Tower¹. The cutter of the irons, appointed by the King's council, was required to work as needed either at the Tower or at Calais and coin had to be sent to Westminster for periodical assay. From sometime in the reign of Richard II onwards, the offices of master worker at the Tower and at Calais were held by the same man, usually with a deputy at Calais. There the mint was regarded as a necessary counterpart to the staple in helping to ensure that the proceeds of English sales were turned into English coin and returned to this country in order to maintain that stock of money which was thought by both King and Commons to be essential to English prosperity. In fact, in face of the rise first of Bruges and then of Antwerp, the decline of the King's rule in France and the absence of evidence to show that the mint at Calais remained active, it has been suggested that the office of master worker at Calais had, by Tudor times, become a sinecure.

This view is challenged by the evidence available in the papers of Lord Lisle, Henry VIII's deputy as resident governor of Calais. Imprisoned in the Tower in May 1540 on suspicion of treason, he was released in 1542 only to die in March of that year with his papers still in the crown's hands. Amongst them were the letters of John Husee, his London agent. Half a dozen of these letters show that the long established system may once more have been functioning². 'I have been with the master of the mint for your acquittance for the coining irons' Husee wrote on 15 October 1539. 'He says I shall have it but he has not yet delivered it'. On the 22nd he wrote that he had still not received it. Nor had he on the 25th 'although I have vigilantly called for the same as God best knoweth'. On the 9th November he was still trying, and reproaching Lisle with 'It was not well done of your lordship to deliver the same without some bill or knowledge'. Despairing of getting it from the house of Bowes, the master worker, in Lombard St., he added 'I must now go to the Tower when all the officers be together and then they promise I shall have it. I pray God send me little to do with them'. Fifteen days later he wrote in triumph, beginning his letter with the good news, 'I have now got the acquittance for the coining irons which are [?damned?] and defaced'.

For some two hundred years the irons had been delivered by the wardens of the Tower mint by indenture. They were so delivered to the provincial mints at Canterbury, York and Durham during Henry VIII's reign. They had presumably been so delivered to Lisle

¹ P[ublic] R[ecord] O[ffice], copy indenture of de Brusele E. 101/306/1 mb. 2.

² P.R.O. S.P. Henry VIII, 3/4 and 5.

in Calais. He had omitted to get a receipt when returning some of them. Until that receipt was secured he was responsible for them and for any use that might be made of them. His trusted London agent would hardly have spent the time and energy shown in this correspondence had the irons been the utensils of a non-existent Calais mint, and Lisle lived in Calais and had no connection with the London mint. The evidence that the Calais mint was again in use in 1539 is surely well worth fuller examination.

A LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY BRONZE HOARD FROM COUNTY KERRY

By S. N. LANE



ON Monday June 1st 1964 Mr. Con Herlihy found a hoard of 108 bronze coins while digging cabbages on his land, at Mullin near Scartaglen, Co. Kerry. The deposit was situated on the slope of a steep hill below Mr. Herlihy's house, an area until recently covered with bracken and scrub, but which had been industriously cleared for cultivation two seasons previously.

The coins were found in a clump some eight or nine inches deep in the soil. There was no visible container but the position of the coins would suggest that they were originally in a bag which had since rotted away.

It is also probable that the deposit was originally somewhat deeper, but erosion on the slope of the hill had gradually removed the upper layers of soil leaving the coins nearer the surface.

The present writer's attention was drawn to the coins by an advertisement which the finder had put in a daily paper offering them for sale. Upon inspection the hoard was found to consist of eighty-seven pieces of Irish Gunmoney, including crowns, halfcrowns and shillings, as well as nineteen Limerick siege farthings¹. At first glance the latter element appeared to connect the deposit with the Great Siege of Limerick 1690–91, and it occurred to the writer that a study of the 'Gunmoney' content, before the dispersal of the hoard, might shed some light on the vexed question of that portion of the coinage struck in Limerick. Up to the present it has not been possible to distinguish the 'Limerick' from the 'Dublin' dies, except by the fact that those issued after June or July 1690 must have been issued in the southern mint, as Dublin was occupied by Williamite forces immediately after the Battle of the Boyne fought on July 1st 1690.

One cannot, of course, assume that all the gunmoney coins in the Mullin deposit were struck in Limerick; in fact, it is not unlikely that the July halfcrowns of 1689 were struck before the establishment of the southern mint². There is, however, a strong probability that should a predominant type be found among the coins of the hoard it could be assigned with confidence to Limerick.

In the case of the crowns, the predominant type is the present writer's Group A³ which comprises eight out of the ten specimens in the hoard, the two remaining crowns are of Group B. This is significant but not conclusive, as Group A is the commonest type anyway. It is however, interesting to note that the issue of the crown was authorised by Royal Proclamation on June 15th 1690, only a fortnight before the Jacobite defeat at the Boyne and the subsequent occupation of Dublin by the victors who discovered 17,292 new struck crown pieces at the abandoned mint in Capel Street.⁴ Limerick, of course, was still unsubdued and presumably continued to issue crowns for some months along with other gunmoney denominations. Thus if one ascribes Group A to Limerick it would account for its comparative abundance compared to Group B, which, struck at Dublin, would cease to have been issued shortly after July 1st.

The large halfcrowns form the largest single group of coins in the hoard. There are fifty five of these and all the months of issue are represented, ranging from July 1689 to May 1690.⁵ Again, these can be grouped into various subdivisions according to type, design, etc. On the obverse there are three main types of bust, the first of which is represented by a single specimen dated July 1689 (No. 11). The reverse of this coin is also remarkable in the fact that the letters 'J.R.' are smaller than on succeeding types. This design was changed in the first month of issue as the first specimen of the second bust is also dated July 1689 (No. 12). This latter coin is also the first to introduce the large 'J.R.' which was to persist until the series was replaced by the small halfcrown in March/April 1690. The second bust was continued, though with a certain amount of 'touching up' of the dies, until it was replaced by

¹ The finder had already given away two unidentified pieces to his friends.

² The actual date of the establishment of the mint at the Deanery, Limerick, is not certain. It is probable however that it was set up by authority of a proclamation dated 19th June 1689, which authorises the requisitioning of 'the several place or places when stamps, presses or coining mills are'.

The earliest mention of issues of the Limerick mint which the writer can find is in a letter from Walter Plunkett, the Limerick commissioner dated 4th January 1689 in which he states that he 'forgot

to send you some of our coyne as you desired': See Nelson *The Coinage of Ireland in Copper, Tin and Pewter*, London, 1905.

³ See S. N. Lane 'Some Unpublished Gunmoney Crowns': *N. S. I. Bulletin*, No. 8, reprinted in *The Numismatic Gazette*, Vol. 2, No. 5, Sept–Oct. 1963.

⁴ Nelson, op. cit., p. 23.

⁵ It is important to remember that, by the old style calendar in vogue at the time, the new year began in the middle of March, so that March 1689 is later than April 1689, and the same month as our March 1690.

the third bust, the dies being completely recut in March 1690 (see Nos. 56-63, also Nelson, plate III, No. 8) when the type of lettering was also changed.

In the early months of issue, July to September 1689, the crossed sceptres on the reverse are depicted as passing *through* the crown, but in the latter month (i.e. September 1689) the design was modified to show them passing *behind* the crown (No. 28). There is also considerable variety in the decoration of the sceptre handles.

An examination of the large halfcrowns can hardly be said to reveal the existence of a definite 'Limerick' type of coin, although the presence of so many specimens of the third bust of March-May 1690 in near uncirculated condition, coupled with the rough 'provincial' appearance of the dies, might lead one to connect this type with the Limerick mint.

There are fifteen small halfcrowns in the hoard dated from May to August 1690, the specimens dated May being the most numerous of the months represented. There are three varieties of bust, all of which occur dated May, the third bust type persisting until the date of the latest specimen of halfcrown in the hoard (No. 80).

The small halfcrowns are all of the same basic type and cannot be assigned to any particular mint except by the specimens dated July and later, as these must have been struck in Limerick; by then the Dublin mint had ceased operations.

The shillings in the hoard number seven specimens and are all of the large variety. They are dated from September to March 1689 (old style), and all the months are represented except November. It is notable that there are two distinct varieties of crowns on the reverses, one with pearls, and one with foliated decoration on the arches. The shillings are, as a group, in rather a bad state of preservation. There is nothing to connect them with any particular mint.

The next element in the hoard, i.e. the 'farthings', are of especial significance. These definitely connect the deposit with Limerick, as traditionally they were struck during the siege of that city for the use of the beleaguered garrison and citizens. Although these coins are known as farthings by numismatists, presumably because of their size, the writer cannot find any evidence that they in fact circulated at that value. An interesting factor is the complete absence of the larger pieces of the same type known as 'halfpence' from the hoard, and the writer is unable to suggest any reason for this except that the 'farthings' are possibly slightly anterior in date. Also significant is the absence of small shillings and sixpences from the hoard, as it was from these pieces that the 'farthings' were struck (see Nelson, p. 31).

The 'farthings' in the hoard number nineteen specimens in all and display a surprisingly wide variety of dies. An interesting fact is the prevalence of the 'Hibernia' legend with the reversed 'N', (all but three of the coins have this feature) and the reason for its continuance over such a wide range of die varieties cannot be determined.

As it is obviously not possible definitely to determine the reason and circumstances leading to the concealment of the deposit, one is reduced to speculation. Perhaps the most likely reason is that with the ultimate Jacobite defeat and occupation of the country by Williamite forces, the possession of a number of almost worthless Jacobite coins might be considered an embarrassment, and the 'dumping' of them is understandable in the circumstances.

It now only remains for the writer to add his grateful thanks to Dr. O'Sullivan and Messrs. Dolley and Seaby who read the manuscript and to the staff of the Ulster Museum who gave invaluable assistance with the photographs.

Coins illustrated in the text-block above are marked with an asterisk.

CROWNS

Weight in
grammes
correct to
0.025

There are ten crown pieces in the hoard which are classified according to the present writer's article 'Some Unpublished Gunmoney Crowns' *N.S.I. Bulletin*, No. 8.

Eight of the coins belong to the writer's Group A1 (Nos. 1-8 below), the remaining two (Nos. 9, 10) though rather ill-struck appear to belong to Group B.

- | | | |
|-------|--|--------|
| (1) | Group A, Sub variety a. <i>Obverse</i> : Mounted figure of the king with long hair ribbon. The horse's bit projects <i>straight</i> from the animal's mouth. The 'A' of 'IAC' is directly over the king's head and the point of the drawn sword close to 'I' of 'IAC'. The letters of the legend tend to have forked terminals. No stops after 'REX' and 'II'. | |
| | <i>Reverse</i> : The angel on the harp of the Irish shield has a marked crescent-shaped 'shoulder' on the wing. | |
| | There is a bar of contraction over the 'N' of 'ANO'. As on the obverse the letters of the legend tend to have forked terminals. No stop after 'TRIVMPHO'. | 17.85 |
| (2) | Similar | 16.525 |
| (3) | Similar, but 'A' closer to top of head, sword halfway between 'x' and 'I'. | 15.25 |
| (4) | Similar but 'A' projects more forward over the king's head, and the sword point touches the 'x'. | 15.85 |
| (5) | Sub-variety Ab. similar to previous variety but with a stop after 'TRIVMPHO' on the reverse. Sword point close to 'I'. The horse's raised forefoot points to the centre of the 'A' of 'FRA'. | 15.1 |
| (6) | Similar, but raised hoof points to the bottom terminal of 'A' | 14.25 |
| (7) | Similar. | 15.35 |
| (8) | Group A, but exact variety uncertain due to ill-striking and corrosion. | 12.75 |
| (9) | Group B. <i>Obverse</i> : The king has short hair ribbon. The horse's tail is more pointed at the end. The letters in the legend have plain terminals. | |
| | <i>Reverse</i> : The angel in the Irish shield has no 'shoulder' on its wing. The mark of contraction is over the 'AN' and the letters have plain terminals. | 12.8 |
| Note: | The obverse of this coin is not typical of Group B as the horse's bit appears to project straight from the mouth as in Group A. | |
| (10) | Uncertain variety of Group B. | 12.75 |

Weight in
grammes
correct to
0.025

Month	Bust	LARGE HALF CROWNS	
* (11)	July	1	Small J.R. plain sceptres through crown.
(12)	July		Large J.R., no stop after 'REX'
(13)	Aug.	2	
(14)	Aug.		<i>Obverse</i> die without stop after 'II'
(15)	Aug.		Die duplicate of 14.
(16)	Aug.		Sceptres have decorated handles. No stop after 'II'.
(17)	Aug.		Stop after 'II'.
(18)	Aug.		
* (19)	Aug.		No stop after 'II'
(20)	Aug.		Die duplicate of 19.
(21)	Sepr.		
(22)	Sepr.		
(23)	Sepr.		
(24)	Sepr.		
(25)	Sepr.		
(26)	Sepr.		Cracked die
(27)	Sepr.		Die duplicate of 26.

			<i>Weight in grammes correct to 0.025</i>
<i>Month</i>	<i>Bust</i>	LARGE HALF CROWNS	
(28) Sepr.		Sceptres pass behind crown.	13.8
(29) Sepr.		Die duplicate of 28.	12.85
(30) Sepr.			13.85
(31) Sepr.			14.05
(32) Oct.			14.55
(33) Oct.		Die duplicate of 32.	15.05
(34) Oct.		New type of decorated handle on sceptre.	13.1
(35) Oct.			13.85
(36) Nov.			15.65
(37) Nov.			14.55
(38) Nov.			14.55
(39) Nov.		Die duplicate of 38.	12.7
(40) Dec.			14.45
(41) Jan.			11.65
(42) Jan.			13.8
(43) Jan.			13.9
(44) Feb.			15.5
(45) Feb.			14.025
(46) Feb.			14.675
(47) Feb.			16.025
(48) Feb.			14.675
(49) Mar.			16.775
(50) Mar.			16.725
(51) Mar. 1690			16.8
(52) Mar.			15.6
(53) Mar.			15.375
(54) Mar.			13.15
(55) Mar.		Corroded flan.	12.2
(56) Mar.	3	Obverse bust has new retouched hair and larger lettering.	15.45
(57) Apr.			13.875
(58) Apr.			13.7
(59) Apr.			20.35
(60) Apr.		Duplicate of 59.	14.575
* (61) Apr.			12.2
(62) Apr.		Duplicate of 61.	15.975
(63) May		Inverted reverse	16.675
(64) ?		Corroded uncertain type of 2nd bust 1689	13.0
(65) ?		Corroded uncertain type of 2nd bust 1689.	15.9
1690	<i>Bust</i>	SMALL HALF CROWNS	
(66) May	1	Reverse small J.R., sceptres have plain hands	8.5
(67) May	2	Large foliated J.R. ornamented sceptres.	9.5
(68) May		Slightly smaller foliated J.R.	10.85
(69) May			11.15
* (70) May	3		8.3
(71) May			12.05
(72) May			10.65
(73) June			11.2
(74) June			10.5

			<i>Weight in grammes correct to</i>
1690	<i>Bust</i>	SMALL HALF CROWNS	0.025
(75)	July		9.9
(76)	July		10.3
(77)	July	Die duplicate of 76.	12.3
(78)	July		9.5
(79)	July	Corroded flan.	10.5
(80)	Aug.		11.275

1689		LARGE SHILLINGS	
(81)	Sepr.	Foliated crown.	5.8
(82)	Sepr.	Corroded, foliate crown.	6.4
(83)	Oct.	Foliate crown.	6.2
(84)	10r.	Corroded, pearls on crown	6.05
(85)	Jan.	Pearls on crown	6.3
(86)	Feb.?	Very corroded.	5.1
(87)	Mar.	Pearls on crown.	5.05

SIEGE 'FARTHING'S'

(a) With HIBERNIA legend

(88)	No stop before 1691.	5.75
(89)	Die duplicate	5.45
(90)	Stop before date.	6.6

(b) Varieties with HIBERNIA legend (reversed 'N')

* (91)	No stops on reverse.	5.1
(92)	Stop after HIBERNIA, but none before or after date.	5.125
(93)	Duplicate of 92	5.35
(94)	Similar.	5.85
(95)	Stops after HIBERNIA and each side of date. Lower stop above point of elbow.	6.85
(96)	Similar.	5.85
(97)	Lower stop opposite to point of elbow	7.525
(98)	Lower stop fractionally lower and further from elbow and top of harp.	6.35
(99)	Damaged die, possibly duplicate of 98.	6.825
(100)	Very similar. Stop before date level with lower terminal of I, toe of left foot joins 'H' of HIBERNIA.	5.85
(101)	Wide flan. Lower stop further from top of harp.	4.35
(102)	Bottom stop lower. Wide gap between upraised hand and pellet after HIBERNIA.	4.7
(103)	Bottom stop lower and nearer harp. Hand holding shamrock almost touches final 'A' of HIBERNIA.	6.5
(104)	Bottom stop lower still. Hand close to 'A'.	4.6
(105)	Bottom stop very low with wide gap between it and the harp.	5.35
(106)	Pellet before HIBERNIA, figure has no feet.	6.3

TWO NOTES ON TRADE TOKENS

A MYTHICAL SEVENTEENTH CENTURY HALFPENNY OF CAMBRIDGE

By DAVID WILMER DYKES and KENNETH A. JACOB

Two years ago one of the present writers contributed to this *Journal* some notes on a number of seventeenth century Cambridge tokens¹. In the course of his paper, he commented on the possible misattribution of a halfpenny token which appeared to be listed in George Williamson's second edition of Boyne's *Trade Tokens issued in the Seventeenth Century* under Cambridge (Cambridgeshire no. 15) and again under Cowbridge, a small market town in the Vale of Glamorgan about twelve miles west of Cardiff (Wales no. 30)². The Cambridge token seemed to be known from only one specimen—in the Fitzwilliam Museum— but although the author had been unable to find any local record evidence to point to the existence of its issuer there could be no ambiguity about the reading of the place name 'Cambridge' on what is a reasonably well preserved piece.

Correspondence with the other writer of this note revealed that the token attributed to Cowbridge by both Boyne and Williamson not only existed but indeed was known from a number of specimens. In this case again there could be no doubt whatsoever as to the name of the place of issue being correctly read as 'Cowbridge'. Although the description of the Cowbridge token given by Williamson's Welsh contributor is not as full as that supplied for the other halfpenny by his Cambridgeshire sub-editor, the resemblance between the two is disconcertingly striking:

Cambridge: O. WILL. BASSETT. MERCER = In three lines: HIS/HALFE/PENNY. MM. on both sides; a rose of six leaves.

R. IN. CAMBRIDGE. 1669 = In the field W. K. B. (see Fig. 1).

Cowbridge: O. WILL. BASSETT. MERCER = HIS HALFE PENY.

R. IN. COWBRIDGE. 1669 = W. K. B. (see Fig. 2).

Despite the apparent difference in the spelling of the word 'PENNY' ('PENY') on the obverse of the two tokens as described in Williamson an examination of nine Cowbridge halfpennies immediately available and a comparison with the unique Cambridge token in the Fitzwilliam Museum at once showed that the ten pieces came in fact from the same obverse die³. As can be seen from the illustrations, there are several clear pointers to this die identity: the initial mark of a sexfoil is set at a slight angle and a petal just touches the inner border of pellets; a number of letters have the same peculiarities of alignment (the F and E of HALFE and the P and Y of PENY—*pace* Williamson not PENNY in the case of Cambridge), while others are larger than their fellows (the Y of PENY and the S of HIS).

¹ Kenneth A. Jacob, 'Notes on some Seventeenth Century Cambridge Tokens', *BNJ* xxxii, pp. 221-2.

² See Williamson, vol. I (1889), p. 63 and vol II (1891), p. 1190. Significantly the Cambridge token is not listed by William Boyne in his original 1858 edition of *Tokens issued in the Seventeenth Century*. The Cowbridge halfpenny is, however, described

on p. 532 (Boyne, Wales no. 18) and illustrated on plate 37 (no. 7).

³ The nine Cowbridge tokens are in the British Museum (1), the Ashmolean Museum (1), the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff (5), the Royal Institution of South Wales, Swansea (1) and in D. W. Dykes's cabinet (1).

On the other hand, it is equally clear that the reverse of the Cowbridge token is from a different die from that of its Cambridge counterpart and that neither place-name has been altered from the other.

[FIG. 1¹]

[FIG. 2]

It would seem to be asking too much to have two Will Bassetts of the same trade issuing almost identical tokens in the same year, Will Bassetts, moreover, with their own initials, and presumably those of their wives, the same. It is, however, more than tempting to think that when one of the tokens was ordered from the manufacturer, the die-sinker produced

¹ The photograph in fig. 1 is reproduced by in figs. 1 and 2 are magnified $\times 1\frac{1}{2}$.
courtesy of the Fitzwilliam Museum. Both tokens

the correct obverse die but made a mistake in the spelling of the place name on the reverse. Then as soon as the error was discovered a correct reverse die was made and coupled with the original obverse.

This hypothesis is borne out by the obverse die identities of the Cambridge and the Cowbridge tokens and the difference between their reverses. It will, too, be seen readily from the illustrations that whereas the size and form of the letter-punches used for both sides of the Cambridge token correspond, the reverse lettering of the Cowbridge token bears no relation to that on its obverse. The lettering is much larger and this significant point of difference goes a long way to confirm that the Cowbridge token is the later and the correct version.

To support our hypothesis there is the evidence provided by the number of surviving tokens—at least nine attested Cowbridge halfpennies against the unique Cambridge specimen—while, in addition, there is local documentary testimony. The lack of any Cambridge record to support Will Bassett's existence in that town was remarked upon two years ago and no fresh evidence has subsequently come to light apart from the fact that the surname of Basset—or perhaps Bafset—has now been traced in a local parish register¹. On the contrary, there is no paucity of proof of Bassetts living in Cowbridge. 'Bassett' is a surname of some antiquity in the Vale of Glamorgan and it is by no means uncommon in South Wales even today². Contemporary seventeenth century references are also readily to hand and although one cannot speak with certainty they may well be associated with the token issuer. We know, for example, that a William Bassett of Cowbridge died about 1680 while another William Bassett who was a bailiff of the town in 1682 died about 1705³: it is not inconceivable that the former was the token issuer and the latter a son or near relative.

The Cambridge halfpenny is almost without doubt a die-sinker's freak but its presence alongside the correct Cowbridge version lends convincing support to the theory that, particularly in the sixteen sixties, a very large number of dies for local tokens were cut in one centre by a select group of specialists as the uniformity of the style and fabric of tokens from widely different parts of the country has already suggested⁴. The Cambridge-Cowbridge tokens, with their sexfoils and borders of diamonds and pellets, are indeed typical of the workmanship of the centre's engravers in the later sixties but their existence points to more than central die cutting because it suggests also that the actual tokens themselves were struck centrally.

¹ The entry in the register reads:
Baptism. John Bafset, sonne of (John and Francis?)
Bafset. 23 June 1661.

² It is interesting to note that fifty-eight persons named Bassett are listed in the G.P.O. Telephone Directories (November 1964) for South Wales, East, and Swansea and South West Wales, only one of whom can be said to live in South West

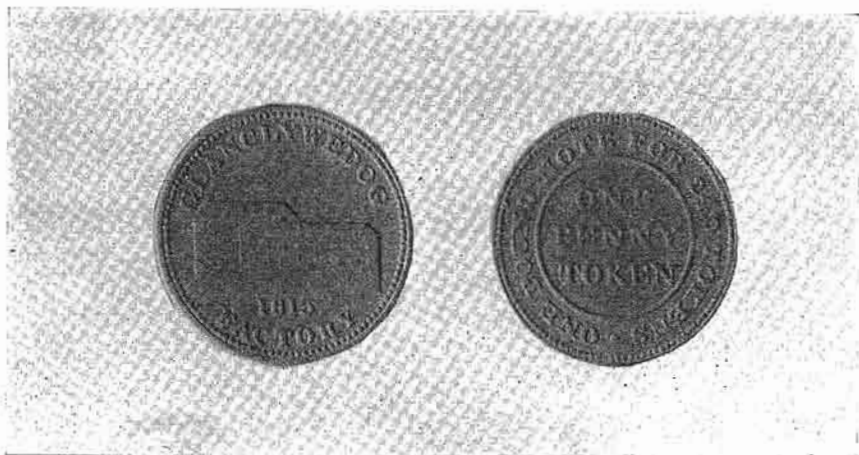
Wales.

³ L. J. Hopkin-James, *Old Cowbridge* (1922), p. 63 and p. 125.

⁴ See the late Dr. J. G. Milne's excellent introduction to his *Catalogue of Oxfordshire Seventeenth Century Tokens* (1935) and cf. also R. H. M. Dolley, 'An unpublished Seventeenth Century Token Halfpenny of London', *BNJ* xxviii, pp. 659-61.

THE GLANCLYWEDOG FACTORY PENNY

By DAVID WILMER DYKES



[FIG. 1]

THIS brief note has been prompted by the continued misattribution of a nineteenth century token to the wrong county and its purpose is simply to record the correct location of the place of issue and to throw a little light on the issuer.

The token in question is the copper penny put out in 1813 by the Glanclywedog Factory. By no means a common piece it is of one type only and was originally listed under Denbighshire by Thomas Sharp, the Warwickshire antiquary, in his catalogue of the Chetwynd Collection¹.

Apart from its place of issue, the only other information Sharp ventured about the token was a brief description and a note that its die-sinker was Thomas Halliday, the Birmingham token manufacturer and die engraver. Sharp, himself, in the Preface to his catalogue was only too conscious of the imperfections of his work as it related to nineteenth century tokens and modestly lamented the absence of a 'guide to direct his steps . . . a cotemporary (*sic*) collector, who, like Mr. Welch, should have watched the progress of this second issue [i.e. the nineteenth century issue of tokens] and taken notes of the respective pieces as they were produced'².

Sharp's reference was to Thomas Welch of Birmingham who had assiduously followed the activities of the die-sinkers and manufacturers of the eighteenth century series of tokens and supplied much of the information used by Pye in the 1801 edition of his *Provincial Copper Coins*³. Nevertheless, although he may not have had the benefit of the contemporary

¹ Thomas Sharp, *A Catalogue of the Provincial Copper Coins, Tickets and Medalets issued in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries . . . Described from the Originals in the collection of Sir George Chetwynd, Baronet, of Grendon Hall, in the County of Warwick* (1834), p. 193.

² *Ibid.*, p. ix.

³ Thomas Welch is said to have written the advertisement to Pye's catalogue and also to have lent many of the rarer specimens from his token collection for the engravings. His collection which was sold by King (Junior) at Tavistock Street, Covent Garden, on September 17 to 19, 1801, was

stated in the sale catalogue to be 'unquestionably the completest ever formed, and contains almost every coin, either engraved or described in a Work lately engraved by C. Pye, and published by L. B. Seecley, Ave Maria Lane, London to which Publication the Numbers refer. There are several unique pieces, many very fine Proofs of scarce coins, many unfinished Proofs of Private and other scarce Tokens, and almost every Coin is in the highest state of Preservation'. The collection was disposed of for £138 16s. 6d. Waters accounted this the first token sale of note and included a reprint of the catalogue in his edition of Pye (1916).

spadework of a Welch or a Pye, his identification of the die-sinker of the Glanclywedog token is hardly without substance since he himself was personally acquainted with the major die engravers and manufacturers responsible for the nineteenth century issues and could also draw on the wide-ranging knowledge of Sir George Chetwynd¹. It is also not without point that the design of the Glanclywedog penny is of similar style—the reverse is exactly similar—to that put out by the Flint Lead Works in the same year of issue and also said to be engraved by Halliday.

Sharp gave no clue as to manufacturer but if this was not Halliday himself it is very likely to have been Sir Edward Thomason for whom Halliday frequently worked as a die engraver.

Sharp's attribution was accepted without question by W. J. Davis who described the token in the following terms²:

DENBIGHSHIRE
GLANCLYDWEDOG (*sic*)
PENNY

COPPER

1. O. View of a mill showing a bell at the end of the higher building. Legend, GLANCLYDWEDOG FACTORY. Under the building 1813.

R. ONE PENNY TOKEN in a circle. Legend, ONE POUND NOTE FOR 240 TOKENS.

Halliday.

Davis's ready acceptance of Sharp's siting of the Factory in Denbighshire is the more surprising since some doubt had already been cast upon it by R. T. Samuel in *The Bazaar, the Exchange and Mart* nearly twenty years before (July 6, 1887, p. 20) when he observed that Glanclywedog was "an establishment which does not, however, appear to have left its mark upon the topographical or manufacturing history of Denbighshire." Samuel's reservations were unhappily ignored not only by Davis but by other subsequent writers and it is only recently in a numismatic work that they have been revived. Mr. R. C. Bell, drawing upon Samuel's articles, has emphasised the fact that 'no mention either of the factory or manufacturer can be found in the records of that County'³. This silence on the part of the Denbighshire records is not surprising since the Glanclywedog Factory was never situated in that county but instead at least twenty-five miles away from its southernmost tip, in Montgomeryshire.

The Glanclywedog Factory was, in fact, a flannel factory on the left bank of the Clywedog river a very short distance outside Llanidloes and was not without importance in the industrial development of North Wales⁴.

To Arthur Aikin visiting North Wales in the summer of 1796 the flannel industry, centred on Montgomeryshire, constituted 'the grand and most important of the Welsh manufactures'⁵

¹ Sir George Chetwynd also had personal contacts with manufacturers, die-sinkers and dealers, particularly Matthew Young, but although as a youth he had collected some tokens at the time of issue it was not until the latter part of 1830 that he seriously took up collecting.

² W. J. Davis, *The Nineteenth Century Token Coinage of Great Britain, Ireland, the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man* (1904), p. 190. The mis-spelling of Glanclywedog is corrected in the corrigenda. The token is illustrated as no. 8 on Plate F.

³ R. C. Bell, *Copper Commercial Coins, 1811-19*, (1964), p. 149. I am grateful to Mr. A. W. Jan for generously allowing me to borrow his bound set of Samuel's *Bazaar* articles.

⁴ See A. H. Dodd, *The Industrial Revolution in North Wales* (2nd Edit. 1951); Edward Hamer, 'A Parochial Account of Llanidloes', *Montgomeryshire Collections* v, pp. 36-38; and J. G. Jenkins, 'The Woollen Industry in Montgomeryshire', *Mont. Coll.* lviii, pp. 50-69.

⁵ Arthur Aikin, *Journal of a Tour through North Wales and Part of Shropshire* (1797), p. 76.

while Llanidloes at this time, though in due course to be outstripped by Newtown, was the heart of the industry¹. The Glanclywedog Flannel Factory, one of the earliest in Llanidloes, had been in origin an old corn mill which was converted into a *pandy* or fulling mill and dye works about 1790 by one William Hunt. The works were further extended by Hunt's son-in-law, Edward Ingram, who added a carding and slubbing factory driven by water power. Ingram's early machinery, however, does not seem to have been altogether successful but about 1797 he was joined in partnership by Charles Cole, an Englishman of considerable means who introduced more efficient machinery and once more enlarged the factory.

Eventually Cole secured complete control of the concern and it was he who in 1813 issued the Glanclywedog Factory tokens. The pennies, issued partly to make up the wages of his work people—although difficult to calculate since payment was for piece work, perhaps on average 5 to 7 shillings a week—and partly to meet the general shortage of copper coin in the Llanidloes district, are said to have circulated freely in the neighbourhood until their recall three years before Cole's death in 1821.²



[FIG. 2]

After Cole's death, Glanclywedog was worked by a number of individual manufacturers, including his widow, until it was incorporated into the mammoth Welsh Flannel, Tweed and Woolstapling Company. By this time, though, the Montgomeryshire woollen industry was sadly in decline and today it is no more³. Glanclywedog itself, so I understand, was closed

¹ Pigot and Sons, *National and Commercial Directory* (1835).

² Cole's Memorial in Llanidloes Parish Church tells us how 'by his active exertions he encouraged and extended the manufactures of the place, and by his liberality he provided employment for the industrious poor, to whom he was a kind and constant benefactor'.

³ Within eleven years of the formation of the 'Welsh Flannel, Tweed and Woolstapling Company' Worral's *Directory* of 1875 could report that the woollen industry 'due to a variety of causes has declined so that the production of the district is not one tenth of what it was thirty years ago'. Cf. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

about fifty years ago and its site is now (August 1965) occupied by a depot for delivery vans and a carpenter's shop. All that remains to remind one of the original factory is its weir on the Clywedog (Fig. 2) and the penny token, both memorials of a vitally important era in the industrial history of North Wales¹. The token has an added importance to the industrial archaeologist because it does not seem that any other representations of Glanclywedog have survived. On the whole the designers of eighteenth and nineteenth century tokens appear to have taken great pride in the accuracy and detail of their illustrations and we may well have here a reasonably exact view of the buildings of an early factory of the Industrial Revolution which would otherwise be unknown to us.

¹ The virtual disappearance of the Glanclywedog Factory gives added point to Mr. Arthur Griffin's plea that the task of collecting and collating information on tokens 'should be commenced while old records are still available and while old buildings

still exist; otherwise many of the tokens which are at present something of a mystery will no doubt remain so'.—'The "Dunkirk" Tokens', *BNJ* xxviii, pp. 171-4.

CASTLECOMER TOKENS: AN INQUIRY

By W. A. SEABY

MR. S. A. H. WHETMORE has recently concluded his study of the rare countermarked silver tokens issued by mill owners, coal mine proprietors, bankers and other traders in northern Britain and Ireland during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries¹. His second article on the Co. Kilkenny issue is all the more welcome (apart from its numismatic interest) as a piece of Irish social and economic history, based on the Ormonde manuscripts as well as contemporary accounts and official reports of the period.

Unfortunately Mr. Whetmore did not inquire closely enough into the extant coins themselves, although he cites a number of important sales dating back to Murdoch (1904) in which they figured; he also quotes from Aquilla Smith, Boyne and Davis, all of whom listed this stamp in their series of silver tokens. It is perhaps surprising that Smith, writing in 1855², seems to have been the first to mention the tokens although by that time they were at least forty years old. It suggests, of course, that comparatively few pieces escaped the melting pot and the present high price confirms such assumption. Smith, quoting Robertson, stated that the dowager Countess of Ormonde, *not wishing to lose by the depreciated value of Spanish dollars of which she had a large number*, caused them to be stamped five shillings and fivepence and this happened *about forty years ago*.

Several matters stand out. For instance, there is the vagueness in the statements made by a man who was not born until 1816 but who nevertheless lived and worked in Kilkenny and became founder and curator of the Archaeological Society's museum; this later formed the basis of the collection of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland now in the National Museum. Then there is the fact that Aquilla Smith, most notable of Irish numismatists in the mid-nineteenth century, seems to have depended on Robertson's report alone for his authority as to issuer and date of issue. Lindsay³ does not record this token, and Dean Dawson, who was rector at Castlecomer, appears to have had no example in his considerable numismatic cabinet⁴. Further, there is the denomination of 5s. 5d.

It is not the purpose of this survey to discuss in detail the economic reasons for the counter-marking of Spanish dollars and other foreign coins for general or local circulation in Britain and Ireland. Davis has covered the ground well in his introduction⁵, Col. Morrieson reviewed the period 1757–1817 at the centenary of the modern coinage in 1917⁶, while Whetmore has attempted to resolve the dating for some at least of the countermarked silver in Britain⁷. It would seem that the various banks, mills and collieries issued such tokens at different dates between c. 1787 and 1823⁸, yet Acts prohibiting the manufacture of private tokens occur in 1812 and 1813, and their circulation finally became illegal on 20 December 1814⁹.

¹ *BNJ*, xxviii (1957), 620–48; xxxi (1962), 152–8.

(1904), pp. xl.

² *Proc. & Trans. Kilkenny & S.E. Archaeol. Soc. (J.R.S.A.I.)*, iii (1855) p. 367, No. 18.

⁶ *BNJ*, xiv (1917), pp. 121–49.

³ *A View of the Coinage of Ireland* (1839), Appendix No. 3, pp. 108–20.

⁷ *BNJ*, xxviii, pp. 645–8.

⁴ No example appears to have been acquired by the Royal Irish Academy at his death and none is found listed in his sale, Sotheby, 30 June/5 July 1839.

⁸ The stamp at the Clark Cotton Works is dated 1787, the mill having been opened in 1782; J. McK & Son, Greenock, were counterstamping on dollars as late as 1823 (see Howard Gibbs sale, Schulman, N.Y., 19 Nov. 1960, lot 350).

⁹ Whetmore, *BNJ*, xxviii, p. 647.

⁵ W. J. Davis, *Nineteenth Century Token Coinage*

From the time when the Hon. William Wellesley Pole was appointed Master of the Royal Mint in September 1814 to the reinstatement of regal currency in 1816/17, the price of silver began to fall, with some appreciation in the early part of 1815¹. Apart from legislation, economic conditions were, on the whole, less favourable for the issue of private tokens after that period. But Whetmore has well summarised the pros and cons as to whether counter-marked dollars constituted tokens in a legal sense.

Under the Union, Ireland was subject to the same acts as Great Britain but her fiscal position was more precarious. This was due to separate monetary systems, the almost universal use in the south of Ireland of paper currency both for gold and silver, and the fluctuations in the exchange rate between Dublin and London². Ireland's economy was finally forged into that of Britain in the reign of George IV, so had the Castlecomer pieces been issued as late as 1815 they would in any case have been short-lived.

The value of five shillings and five pence is not an arbitrary market figure but the Irish equivalent of five shillings sterling prior to 1826. The fact that the English shilling passed for 1s. 1d. in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries meant that foreign specie, scarce though it was in Ireland, circulated more freely than British gold and silver coin which, when obtainable, was banked, hoarded or melted down³. If, too, the issue of the tokens was restricted to one particular year we have good reason to scrutinise most carefully the extant examples, particularly the dates on the dollars and the design of the countermark.

The matter is raised here because even a cursory examination of the coins themselves, and photographic illustrations in catalogues, reveals that there were at least two distinct stamps, the determining factors being as follows: (1) *Curved top* to the first 5 and the same to the second but turning upwards a little more at the tip, *narrow opening* to loops below; the small *d* for pence with long downward pointed tail and the lower part of the letter sloping upwards *to right*; the margin of the countermark consisting of a series of radiating grooves divided by fine lines to give a *cusped edge*; surface of stamp mark *convex*. (2) *Shallower curved tops* to both 5s., *wide opening* to loops below; the small *d* with shorter tail and the lower part of letter turned slightly *to left*; *serrated edge* to countermark; surface of stamp mark *flat*.

There are several minor differences, such as the spacing of the border lettering and its punctuation, but these criteria are less easily discernible. Captain F. Pridmore also points out that No. 2 stamp appears to have been applied by pressure, probably in a vice, using a piece of wood or similar material to avoid metal markings on the reverse of the coin⁴. On the other hand, No. 1 stamp was undoubtedly made by heavy striking, probably in a screw press, the punch not always descending centrally on the flan and occasionally slipping out of vertical to the coin's surface. In every recorded instance the countermark is on the obverse, and the upper part of the curve of the stamp is directed approximately towards the top of the king's head.

In the sale of W. Talbot Ready at Sotheby's on 18-19 November 1920 the following entry appears under lot 942: 'Castle Comer Colliery (Co. Kilkenny) countermarked Dollar for Five Shillings and Fivepence; an original counter stamp with *curled tops* to the 5s., not flat tops as in the fabrication recently produced. This specimen has also a minute AM in an oval stamp (Davis, 134), very fine and extremely rare . . . 1'. This particular coin passed through the Cokayne sale and is now in the Ashmolean Museum (No. 8 in list below).

¹ Davis, *op. cit.*, p. xlv.

² See F. W. Fetter, *The Irish Pound* (1955), *passim*.

³ Davis, *op. cit.*, p. xlii; Fetter, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁴ In a letter to the author, dated 19 September 1964.

The only other published reference to this allegation of forgery, so far traced, is a repeat of the warning, taken direct from the Ready catalogue, in the form of a published letter by Lionel L. Fletcher to E. C. R. Armstrong, Vice-President of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland¹. Fletcher stated that it was the first and only reference he had seen regarding the counterfeiting. There are, however, hints in correspondence sent to Francis Cokayne, as early as the first decade of the nineteenth century, which suggest that forging of marks on Spanish dollars may have occurred even before the first World War².

Examination by photograph and pedigree of coins, including all those mentioned by Whetmore and of others since traced, reveals that only No. 1 countermark has been found on specimens which can be dated as early as, or earlier than, the illustrations shown by Davis in 1904. The first representation of No. 2 countermark is, in fact, that in the catalogue of the W. Waite Sanderson sale of 1923, lot 93 (Pl. I.), on a Charles III Lima dollar of 1789. This coin, with a number of other countermarked pieces, was withdrawn from the sale as judged 'wrong' by auctioneer and bidders. The Waite Sanderson piece eventually came into the hands of S. A. H. Whetmore, who used it to illustrate his article; later it was purchased by the Ulster Museum (See No. 17 listed below). Three others so far noted, bearing No. 2 stamp, seem all to have passed through the Paget sale of 1944. Unfortunately owing to war-time restrictions no more than one was illustrated in his catalogue.

In fairness to the reader, and particularly to later researchers, it must be admitted that only one third of all extant examples so far traced have been examined personally by the writer; and on the basis of photographs alone, some taken direct from the coins, others from casts, it is not possible to be absolutely certain that only two stamps exist; although this would appear to be the case. Superficially, at least, some of the genuine stamps appear broader than others³. Had the concave surface of the punch become slightly flattened and the edges worn with the constant hammering and friction, a slight variation in the oval shape might well have occurred.

It remains to determine, if possible, the date when the genuine countermarks were put on the dollars. Smith, quoting Robertson's remarks and publishing his paper in 1855, has led subsequent writers and numismatists to accept 1815 as about the year in which Anne Countess of Ormonde decided to dispose of her dollars in the way suggested⁴. In the absence up to the present time of any contemporaneous documentary reference to the tokens we must rely on other factors in attempting to arrive at the truth.

After considerable inquiry in Ireland and Britain, on the continent, in America and even further afield, only fifteen examples of dollars bearing countermark No. 1 have come to light, and even one of these is a counterfeit, cast in billon with a silvered surface, from a dollar bearing the genuine stamp. Of the other fourteen, eight at least are stabilised in public collections and unlikely again to be marketed, while six may still be 'in circulation' amongst private collectors on both sides of the Atlantic. The authenticity of the countermark on one specimen has still to be determined. It cannot, of course, be estimated how many

¹ *J.R.S.A.I.*, li (1921), p. 80.

² I am indebted to Mr. Albert Baldwin for allowing me to read through a number of letters in the Cokayne MSS. in possession of the firm.

³ No. 10 in the list below is a case in point.

⁴ At first Smith seems to have been of the opinion that the Castlecomer tokens were issued in 1804. According to his original manuscript dated 9 June 1851, now housed in the National Museum,

Dublin, he has this sentence (crossed out and replaced by Robertson's statement): 'Castle Comer is in Co. Kilkenny. This token was used for paying the miners of the colliery during the late war, probably about the year 1804'. I am indebted to Mr. Michael Dolley for pointing this out to me and for suggesting that the tokens probably date from 1804.

more pieces may be hidden away in obscure collections or museum cabinets where they might least be expected; but the coins, which during the present century have passed through the hands of well-known collectors in this numismatic field have probably now mostly been accounted for.

We may assume then that the fifteen coins listed below (the counterfeit has been included for the purposes of analysis) are a representative sample of the dollars which the dowager countess possessed, and which were made available for the purposes of promoting her coal trade. Robertson's statement to the effect that coals to the value of 5s. 5d. were given for them at the pits, and that 'Kilkenny traders used to take them in exchange for their commodities knowing that they could give them afterwards to colliers in payment for coals', seems substantially correct. What is more interesting is just when and for how long such stamped dollars enjoyed local circulation during this period of great economic stress.

Scrutiny of the dates on the dollars themselves gives the following pattern: 1779(1), 1790(1), 1796(1), 1797(1), 1798(2), 1799(2), 1801(3), 1803(1), 1804(3); all being struck at Mexico or Lima. The proportion of twelve of the first mint to three of the second is probably close to the percentage for the actual output from those particular mints during the period in question¹. On the other hand, the four coins known to bear No. 2 countermark are much more diverse, and one might say that by the law of averages they could scarcely be accepted as the residue of a second issue, or for that matter of a first issue. The dates, with mints and rulers, are: 1774 (Lima—Charles III), 1789 (Lima—bust of Charles III with name of Charles IV)², 1791 (Mexico?—bust of Charles III with name of Charles IV)³, 1808 (Potosi—Ferdinand VII). Here it is seen that the date bracket is extremely wide, yet no dollars are in evidence for the period 1796–1804 from which come thirteen of the specimens in the former group.

The bulk of the coins, bearing the authentic stamp, may therefore have been brought together over a period of some eight years; at present there is nothing to suggest that anything was added to this private bank after 1804. The only outliers in the group are the Charles III Mexico dollar of 1779 and the Mexico dollar of 1790 but these, as indeed probably many others of early date, may have been acquired by the Countess as the result of normal trading transactions. The countermark on the Ferdinand VII Mexico dollar of 1808 (No. 20) has yet to be proved authentic.

The Bank of Ireland, like the Bank of England, had suspended specie payment from early in 1797, and in March 1804 the Post Office decided no longer to accept counterfeit coin which had been passing as currency in the absence of regal money. Country, as well as Dublin, banks and business houses had therefore been compelled to issue silver notes (permitted by an Irish Act of 1799) which were payable on demand in Bank of Ireland notes⁴. William Tighe, who wrote a very full account of the Castlecomer mines in a survey he made of Co. Kilkenny⁵, states that 'the payment to colliers are made in notes at present, which are generally passed at a depreciated value: colliery notes have on some particular occasions borne a premium, but 1s. discount is sometimes demanded for 9s. 9d. In consequence of

¹ Spanish dollars of the Mexico mint are by far the commonest of those under review which have found their way into the Ulster Museum cabinet, many being derived from local sources. Of the other Spanish-American mints, Lima is commoner than Potosi.

² J. de Yriarte, *Catalogo de los Reales de a Ocho Españoles* (Madrid, 1955), p. 132, no. 738.

³ Yriarte (*op. cit.*, p. 133) gives 1790 as the last date for the issue of Mexican dollars bearing the bust of Charles IV.

⁴ Fetter, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁵ W. Tighe, *Statistical Observations relative to the County of Kilkenny made in the years 1800–1* (1802), p. 71.



Fig. 1.

these notes, the huxters impose in their charges for articles of necessity; and the collier is obliged to pay a halfpenny more in the price of a pottle of meal, when he pays in tickets as they are called.'

Whetmore has suggested that Job Hart Price-Clarke (father of the girl who married the eighteenth Earl of Ormonde and apparently both a trustee and agent of the earl, 1806-10), coming from Sutton-cum-Duckmanton in Derbyshire, must have known Richard Arkwright, who was lord of the manor there, and who issued countermarked Spanish dollars at the Cromford cotton yarn mill in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries¹. If it was Hart Price-Clarke who advised Lady Ormonde on the similar use of her foreign silver,

¹ *BNJ*, xxxi, pp. 157-8.

presumably it could have been as early as 1804 when arrangements were being settled for the marriage between his daughter and the earl which took place on 17 March 1805.

But there would appear to be a more probable link between Castlecomer and North Britain during this period of specie scarcity, when payment of industrial workers and colliers presented such a problem. To find this connection one must go back some forty years: to a time when the Countess was an eligible young heiress to the important Kilkenny estates and her father, the Earl of Wandesforde, was developing the colliery at Castlecomer. During the 1760s the first Duke of Northumberland had been appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and, there he gave much fine entertainment at Viceregal Lodge in Dublin¹. Here, one may be sure, the young Anne Wandesforde would have met both of the Duke's sons: Algernon, about her own age, and the older Hugh, a soldier, who was later to become second Duke, owner of vast estates in the north of Britain and proprietor of several collieries in the county of Northumberland.

It is not surprising then to find that the tokens for five shillings issued at the Percy Main colliery are very close in style to those of Castlecomer, and the same hand may well have been responsible for the two punches. Several examples of the Percy Main Colliery tokens are known, and four which passed through the sale room are illustrated in figure 1 *a-d* (Cokayne, 17/18 July 1946, lot 10—Mexico, 1787; Lingford, 24/26 October 1950, lot 703—Mexico, 1790, ex Thelluson collection; Howard Gibbs, New York, 19 Nov. 1960, lot 129—Lima, 1808, said to be ex Cokayne, but presumably ex Paget sale; Whetmore, 14 July 1961, lot 228—Guatemala, 1802, ex Nightingale collection). A fifth token, mentioned by Whetmore², has kindly been traced for me by Mrs. Joan Martin, at the British Museum, as appearing in a sale of various properties held at Glendining, 18/20 September 1929, lot 169. It was there described as an *unpublished* countermark, very rare; and the Spanish dollar (of which neither date nor mint were given) as pierced. It fetched £5.15s.0d.; as it has not been traced further, the specimen may well have found its way into a public collection.

Having now linked the two series the writer is not prepared to stand over the authenticity of the Percy Main group, as at present represented by the four illustrated coins, without further corroboration. The objections were set out in a letter sent to Mr. S. A. H. Whetmore, on 7 June 1965, and are here transcribed in full.

There are difficulties in accepting the Northumberland colliery group. For instance, in all four cases the surface of each obverse face has been first scored with a sharp toothed wheel or serrated edge round about where the Percy countermark has been applied. The stamps were very carefully placed with the name upwards in relation to the king's head, yet in quite a different position on the flan of each coin. The surface of the countermark appears to be flat, as in the case of the false Castlecomer mark. Had a screw press been used, the coins must have been arranged most carefully in position, both in relation to the obverse axis and to the die stamp coming down centrally over the scoring, so that it cancelled and obliterated an earlier mark.

Obviously, if thousands of coins were being countermarked such elaborate care would scarcely have been necessary; but if only a very few coins were being marked, and there was an important reason for thus stamping them, the matter may be looked at in a different light. For instance, if all four pieces had been dollars prior to 1804, one might have jumped to the conclusion that the original marks on them were either the oval or the octagonal

¹ See *DNB*, xlv, pp. 418–20.

² *BNJ*, xxviii, p. 623.

stamp used officially by the Bank. Another suggestion is that all the present countermarks were struck over 4/6 or 4/9 marks, used either by the colliery itself or by some other northern industrial house; but in either case the Lima dollar of 1808 discountenances such a supposition. If the coins were marked at one and the same time, which seems probable from their very similar appearance, then perhaps they are trial pieces. The suggestion that the Northumberland tokens were issued during the winter of 1811/12¹ is at variance with the official value of the dollar which was then worth 5s. 6d. At 5s. 0d. they would not have passed for payment or freely circulated, when their bullion price was 10% higher.

There is, however, a further possibility. Accepting the Northumberland mark as genuine could not all these pieces have been re-strikes, very likely carried out by the same person who perpetrated the four false Castlecomer stamps? In other words he became possessed of the original die-stamp and struck it on four dollars of widely separated dates, 1787—1790—1802—1808. But the fifth example from the sale of 1929, which was not illustrated and no date given, is holed; and a forger making such tokens for profit would scarcely have selected a pierced specimen, unless as a 'blind'. Thus this particular coin may well be one of the original tokens which escaped the melting pot.

This inquiry has posed more questions than it has answered. The writer recently prepared a chart setting out in groups, under the years 1790 to 1825, most of the recorded countermarked silver coins; but, while only one or two examples do not fit comfortably into such an analytical pattern, too few details of the issue by mills, banks and Scottish town traders are recorded for such data to be published without a great deal more study of the subject. Mr. Whetmore seems to have followed the main lines of inquiry but admits he has not made an exhaustive search of contemporary literature, such as newspapers, etc.²

One further aspect of the employment of foreign silver currency has been investigated but not pursued. Through the kindness of Mr. Anthony Thompson, at the Ashmolean Museum, copies have been obtained of all his transcriptions, taken from official and semi-official sources, referring to the capture of Spanish treasure on the high seas during the period in question. The number of dollars recorded, as having been taken in particular years, appears to have some bearing on the comparative frequency of surviving countermarked dollars of the same dates; yet it cannot be claimed that the figures are accurate enough for one to build up or substantiate a theory on these lines. To make any such equation one would have to know, for instance, how much of the captured specie found its way into the ordinary channels of trade, how much was melted down and how much was simply re-issued as Bank of England or Bank of Ireland dollars.

To summarise: it is suggested that the Castlecomer Colliery tokens were first issued in 1804, or early in 1805, and perhaps the same stamp was in use up to 1810, by which time the scarcity of foreign coin, the rise in the value of silver and the issue of the Bank tokens had to some extent taken the responsibility for supplying specie out of private hands. That metal tokens cannot have been in circulation in this region of Ireland much before 1804 is confirmed by Tighe's statement, published in 1802 (see *supra* p. 142). Indeed, it may have been more to right the exploitation of her own miners by the local tradesfolk, than to benefit herself, that the Countess brought her stock of dollars into public service and demanded that they pass for their true value in Irish currency.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 624.

² *Ibid.*, p. 645

PEDIGREES OF EXTANT TOKENS

Key: —?— = coin untraced before 1914–18 War, or there is a subsequent gap in the pedigree;
 * = illustration known to writer and photographically copied for reference purposes.

Note: Sale prices, both those realised at auction sales and those paid by purchasers to dealers, are omitted since many transactions are untraced. Names of present owners are only given where permission to do so has been obtained. All countermarks are impressed on Spanish American dollars, so far as known. Except for No. 20 all are illustrated on Pl. XV.

First Countermark.

1. Charles III, 1779, Mexico. Friedlaender collection, acquired by Königliches Münzkabinett, Berlin (1861); J. Meili: *Das Brasilienische Geldwesen*, etc., i (1897), p. 232/20, illus. p. 240*; now in Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Münzkabinett. (Photographs* of both faces of coin obtained).
2. Charles IV (bust of Charles III), 1790, Mexico. Also countermarked with impressed letters R.I. (?) on obverse. —?—; auction sale (Schulman, New York, 21/22 June 1957) lot 257*. Present whereabouts unknown. (No photographs of coin itself, but copies of both obverse and reverse from sale catalogue*).
3. Charles IV, 1796, Mexico. —?—; R. Peltzer sale cat. (Glendining, 20/24 June 1927) lot 237, not illus.; purchased Seaby; —?—; D. S. Napier sale cat. (Glendining, 30 May 1956) lot 299, not illus.; purchased Seaby and advertised in *Bulletin* (Nov. 1957) p. 491, No. 7356, pl. III*; purchased by New York buyer. (Photograph* of obverse of coin obtained).
4. Charles IV, 1797, Mexico. With second countermark, which only shows in form of crescent to right of bust on obverse. —?—; said to be ex Lingford but not apparently from Lingford sale, 1950; H. Gibbs sale (Schulman, New York, 19 November 1960) lot 271, pl. opp. p. 20*; purchased Spink. Present whereabouts unknown. (No photographs of coin itself, only copy of obverse from sale catalogue*).
5. Charles IV, 1798, Mexico. Aquilla Smith in *Journ. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, iii (1855), p. 367, No. 18, fully described but not illustrated and weight given as 17 dwts. 7 grains. A. Smith collection, acquired by the Royal Irish Academy at his death in 1890; transferred to National Museum, Dublin, where coin is now housed. W. Boyne, *Silver Tokens*, etc. (1866), p. 26; D. A. Chart, *Ireland from the Union to the Catholic Emancipation* (1910), pl. opp. p. 75(d)*; R. A. S. Macalister, *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.* xl (1931), p. 166, No. 936. (Photographs* of both faces of coin obtained).
6. Charles IV, 1798, Lima. Friedlaender collection, acquired by Königliches Münzkabinett, Berlin (1861); now in Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Münzkabinett. (Photographs* of both faces of coin obtained).
7. Charles IV, 1799, Mexico. —?—; H. Gibbs sale (Schulman, New York, 19 November 1960) lot 273, not illustrated; purchased Spink; —?—; purchased from Baldwin by Ulster Museum 17 May 1965. Weight: 411.8 grains (Photographs* of both faces of coin obtained).
8. Charles IV, 1799, Lima. With AM in oval, impressed under chin, probably for Arthur Murphy, Dublin goldsmith, working c. 1805–12; also with impressed c (?) before neck stamped anterior to the Castlecomer mark which partly obscures it. —?—; W. Talbot Ready sale cat. (Sotheby, 15/19 November 1920) lot 942, king and mint not given but coin identified by mention of AM countermark; purchased Baldwin; F. Cokayne sale cat. (Glendining, 17/18 July 1946) lot 204, pl. IX*, in which all countermarks are plainly seen; purchased Baldwin and now in Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. (Photographs* of both faces of coin obtained).

9. Charles IV, 1801, Mexico. T. Bliss collection (?); W. J. Davis, *Nineteenth Cent. Token Coinage, Etc.* (1904), p. 27. No. 134, pl. H. 24* (photograph from 'shrunk' cast); T. Bliss sale cat. (Sotheby, 15/16 May 1916) lot 823, pl. XV* (good cast); purchased Spink; —?—; W. J. Davis sale cat. (Glendining, 29/30 July 1924) lot 119, not illus. and no details of king or date; purchased at sale by Thelluson; A. Thelluson sale cat. (Sotheby, 19/20 October 1931), lot 376, not illus. but dollar given as Chas. IV, 1801; purchased Baldwin; —?—; Paget sale cat. (Glendining, 28 June 1944) lot 71, not illus. but dollar identified by description as in Thelluson sale; purchased Baldwin; —?—; purchased Brand, Chicago; purchased R. H. Norweb, Cleveland, Ohio; presented to the American Numismatic Society, New York, August 1965. (Photographic copy of obv. from Bliss sale cat.* and Davis illustration*; coin checked in New York by W.A.S., Oct. 1965).
10. Charles IV, 1801, Mexico; but not as deeply impressed as other genuine countermarks. —?—; said to be ex Cokayne collection, but not in Cokayne sale, 1946; purchased from Baldwin by J. Sweeney, Tullamore, Co. Offaly, 1954; subsequently purchased by E. Szauer, Dublin, who has coin in his collection. (Photograph* of obverse of coin which has also been seen by writer).
11. Charles IV, 1803, Lima. —?—; M. Platt, Paris, cat. (March 1939) p. 30, No. 486; H. F. Burzio, *Dicc. de la Mon. Hisp. Amer.* (1958) i, p. 90; —?—; H. F. Gibbs collection, Pittsburgh; sold at the Coin Galleries, New York, May 1962 and there purchased by B. S. Huie, Jr., Rizal, Philippines, who has coin in his possession. (Photographs* of both faces of coin obtained).
12. Charles IV, 1804, Mexico. J. Murdoch sale cat. (Sotheby, 12/13 December 1904) lot 175, not illus.; purchased C. Weight; —?—; Bain sale cat. (Sotheby, 8/11 May 1928) lot 523, pl. VII* purchased at sale by Thelluson; A. Thelluson sale cat. (Sotheby, 19/20 October 1931) lot 377, not illus.; purchased Seaby; —?—; L. L. Fletcher sale cat. (Glendining, 14 March 1934) lot 37 (said to be from Thelluson collection); purchased by Baldwin and sold to Lingford, 1941; H. Lingford sale cat. (Glendining, 24/26 October 1950) lot 780, pl. LI*; purchased Baldwin and bought for Historical Section of the Bank of England where coin is now housed. (Photographs* of both faces of coin obtained.)
13. Charles IV, 1804, Mexico. —?—; Moritz Wormser collection; purchased from the New Netherlands Coin Company, New York (March 1941) by the American Numismatic Society, in which collection the coin is now housed. (Photographs* from good casts of obverse and reverse obtained).
14. Charles IV, 1804, Mexico. —?—; auction sale 74 Otto Helbing Nachf., (Munich, 14 December 1933) lot 388* —?—; E. Kirchner collection, Buenos Aires, Argentina (c. 1939). H. F. Burzio, *Dicc. de la Mon. Hisp. Amer.* (1958) i, p. 90 and iii, pl. XV, No. 86*; coin now in possession of an heir, also living in Argentina. (Copy of illus. in Helbing sale cat.* and from Burzio's reference work* only).

Counterfeit cast from dollar bearing first countermark.

15. Charles IV, 1801, Mexico. False coin, being cast in billon and silvered over; both original and counterfeit must have received some wear. This interesting specimen is in the possession of Capt. R. C. Prior-Wandesforde, Managing Director of Castlecomer Collieries Ltd., Co. Kilkenny (now living at Evington, Co. Carlow) who sent it to the writer for examination. The owner states that he inherited it from his father with other family relics. One suggestion put forward is that, owing to its obvious falsity, the piece was identified during its period of circulation, put aside by the management of the colliery, and later became a keepsake. (Photographs* of both faces obtained).

Second Countermark.

16. Charles III, 1774, Lima. —?—; advertised in Spink's *Circular* (Dec. 1937) col. 458/66790*; —?—; H. Paget sale cat. (Glendining, 28 June 1944) lot 69, pl. III*; purchased Baldwin; —?—; sold Glendining (10 November 1966) lot 147. (Photographs* of coin obtained).

17. Charles IV (bust of Charles III), 1789, Lima. —?—; W. Waite Sanderson sale cat. (Glendining, 14/15 February 1923) lot 93, pl. I*, two catalogues examined give indication that this coin, with other countermarked dollars, was judged wrong and passed over in the sale room, no price being placed against it; —?—; purchased from Spink by S. H. Whetmore, 25 October 1947; Whetmore sale cat. (Glendining 14 July 1961) lot 261, pl. XXVII*; purchased Seaby; *BNJ* xxxi (1962), pl. V, 19*; Seaby's *Bulletin* (March 1962), p. 132, No. IR. 520, pl. 21*. Purchased Ulster Museum 20 June 1963. Weight: 411.4 grains. (Photographs* of both faces of coin obtained).
18. Charles IV (bust of Charles III), 1791. Said to be Mexico mint, but Yriarte, *Catalogo de los Reales de a Ocho Españoles*, p. 133, gives no Mexican eight real piece as late as this still retaining bust of Chas. III. The 1's in date are unlike those used by the Spanish mints and there are other features which suggest that the coin itself may be a counterfeit, possibly British and late eighteenth century in date. —?—; H. Paget sale cat. (Glendining, 28 June 1944) lot 70, not illus.; purchased Baldwin; —?—; H. Gibbs sale cat. (Schulman, New York, 19 November 1960), lot 272, pl. opp. p. 20*; purchased Spink. Present whereabouts unknown. (No photographs of coin itself, only copy of obverse from sale catalogue*).
19. Ferdinand VII, 1808, Potosi. —?—; H. Paget sale cat. (Glendining, 28 June 1944) lot 72, not illus.; purchased Baldwin; —?—; J. Kelly, Dayton, Ohio, cat. (February 1954) No. 4882; —?—; H. Gibbs sale cat. (Schulman, New York, 19 November 1960) lot 274, pl. opp. p. 20*; purchased Spink. Present whereabouts unknown. (No photographs of coin itself, only copy of obverse from sale catalogue*).

(Countermark unknown).

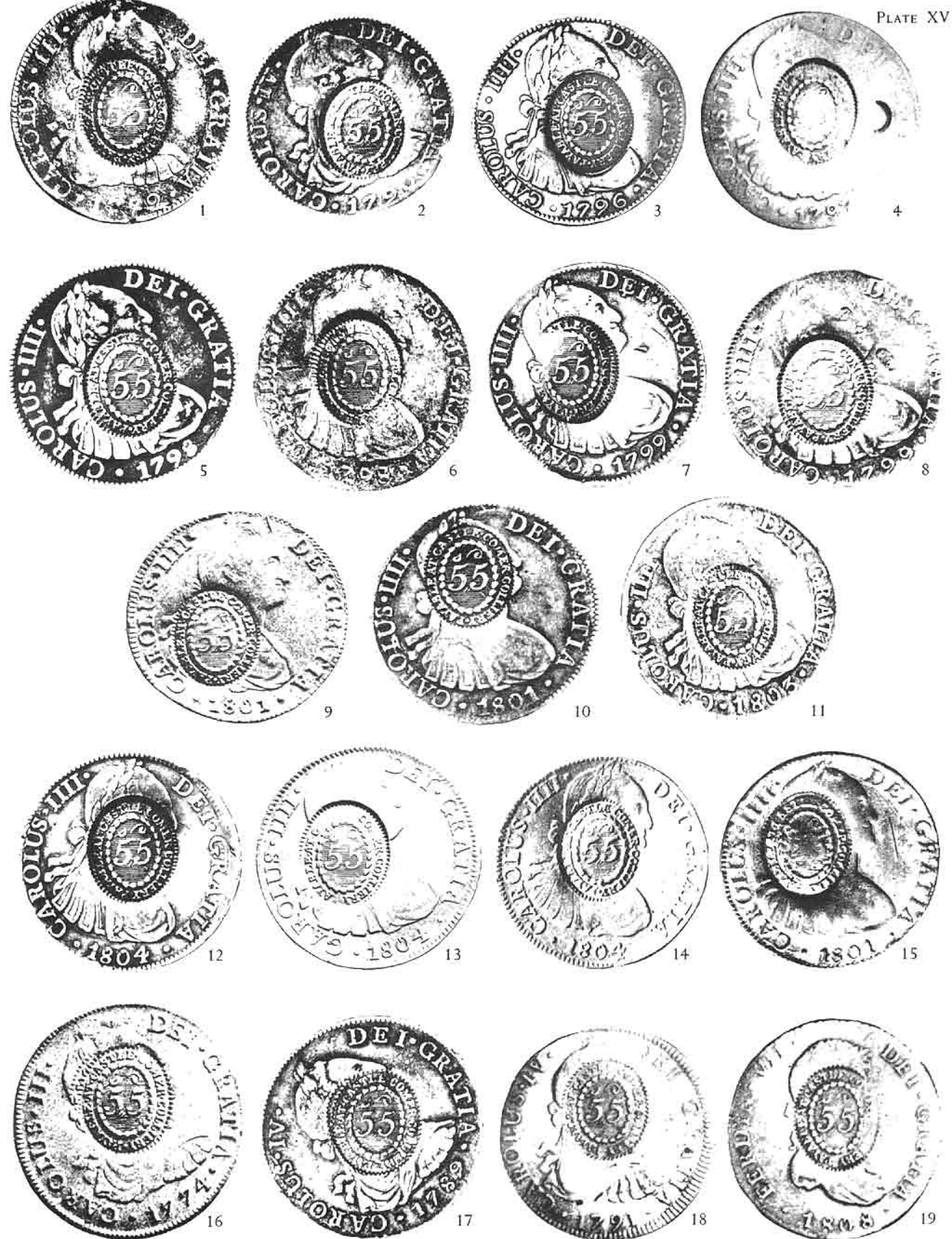
20. Ferdinand VII, 1808, Mexico. —?—; Howard Gibbs collection. In a list supplied to Mr. S. A. H. Whetmore prior to Gibbs sale (Schulman N.Y., 1960); but coin not traced. (No illustration available).

In addition to the above, Spink's advertised Castlecomer tokens for sale in their *Circular* on the following dates: October 1920, col. 434/86272, RR £10 0s. 0d.; July-August 1922, col. 367/7279. RRR £10 0s. 0d.; September 1926, col. 530/58818, RR £12 10s. 0d. Since in no instance are any details of the Spanish dollar given, and no illustrations shown or pedigrees mentioned, it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to equate these entries with any of the specimens listed above.

It would appear that only in the cases of Nos. 3, 11, 18 and 19 could more than one token, bearing same mint and date, be in question. It should be noted, however, that Nos. 18 and 19 have the second countermark, which is patently much scarcer than the first mark; so it seems likely that the unillustrated Paget coins are in fact those which later passed through the Gibbs collection¹. With regard to No. 3, Napier was a customer of B. A. Seaby Ltd. which probably means the firm sold the Peltzer coin to him and bought it back again from his sale in 1956; in the case of No. 11, although the pedigree cannot be confirmed, there is good reason to connect the token now in the Philippines with that advertised by Platt in pre-war Paris.

¹ Correspondence with Mr. Howard D. Gibbs, Director of the Pittsburgh Numismatic Museum, failed to elicit this point, as he admitted that all details were kept on the envelopes which were

disposed of with the coins when sold. The writer here acknowledges an enormous amount of help received from collectors, numismatic dealers and editors of coin magazines on both sides of the Atlantic.



CASTLECOMER COLLIERY TOKENS

SUPPLEMENT I

TO CATALOGUE OF THE ADVERTISEMENT IMITATIONS OF 'SPADE' GUINEAS AND THEIR HALVES (BNJ xxxii 1964)

By R. N. P. HAWKINS

CORRIGENDA &c.

BNJ xxxii page	Cat. no.	
178		<i>Collections cited</i> <i>Amend</i> fifth entry to read: J K. A. Jacob, Esq., F.R.N.S., Cambridge. <i>Add:</i> Bh Birmingham City Museum & Art Gallery. L Mr. Charles H. Lipsky, Galesburg, Illinois, U.S.A. U Ulster Museum, Belfast.
179	4	R. 4: <i>Amend</i> '1778.' to read '1788.', and after 'spaced.' <i>add</i> : 'An extra 7 in lower relief is visible between the second and third figures.'
180	13	O. 9: <i>Delete</i> 'stop uncertain.' R. 10: <i>Delete</i> 'apparently', and after 'shield' <i>insert</i> '14 × 15'. <i>Delete</i> the sentence below.
185	46	In the first line '(no. 43)' should read '(no. 44)'.
187	56	Note. The museum now owns the specimen.
192	108	Additional Owners: H; J.
195	124	Below details of reverse <i>add</i> : 'Edge: Plain.'
„	125	After 'Ad;' <i>insert</i> 'H;'.
„	126	O. 118: The third numeral of the legend may be absent. R. 122: To description <i>add</i> : 'Base of shield misdrawn (displaced to left). Harp-strings retrograde.'
„	129	<i>Ownership</i> . <i>Add</i> 'H (traced as originating from a games retailer's stock in the 1940's)'
179- 195		<i>Add</i> further ownership annotations to catalogue entries: 'Bh' to cat. no. 23. 'H' to cat. no 124. 'L' to cat. nos. 1, 8, 9, 11-13, 20, 23, 26, 30, 36, 37, 39, 40, 46-48, 61, 73, 74, 101, 103, 107, 109, 111, 112, 114, 115, 117, 123, 125, 128.

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page

- 209 *J. Sainsbury: Second paragraph* Note. The demolition has been carried out in 1965.
Third paragraph line 4:
delete 'These premises, later 11 and 15, now known as Stamford House, form'
substitute 'Nos. 13 and 15 adjoining were later acquired and conducted as a retail branch. Opposite (on the site of nos. 10, 12 and 14) was built Stamford House,'.
- 213 *A. J. Skinner* lines 6-7:
delete 'after a change of street number from 132 to 123 during the 1950's'
substitute 'after moving c. 1951 from no. 132 (which with 134 and 136 was taken over in that year by J. Sainsbury for reopening their retail activity in the street) to 123 on the opposite (east) side of the street,'
- „ *Albert W. Bain* Note. A. W. Bain & Sons, insurance brokers, are still in business but at Bradford.
- 217 *Cat. nos. 44-45* Note. O. 25, the obv. die of no. 45, was existent by 1879 (v. no. 86 in *ADDENDA*).

ADDENDA

GUINEA SIZE

- 75 O. 33 *See no. 58.*
 R. 65 As R. 48 but bar of T aligns with top left serif of N. H 25
- 76 O. 46 J. SAINSBURY at upper part of rim, bl stop;
 HIGH CLASS / PROVISION / MERCHANT across field, the first and third lines curved
 .SEVEN SISTERS R^p N. at lower half of rim, mh outer stops.
 R. 50 *See no. 60.* H 25
- 77 O. 6 *See no. 8.*
 R. 66 SAVE MONEY BY DEALING AT BLUNT'S. around whole of rim, mh stop;
 DRUG STORES forming inner legend curved around top of small crowned shield $10\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$. *Inesc.*: absent All lettering of reverse is tall sanserif. H 26

GUINEA SIZE—continued

- 78 O. 6 *As last.*
 R. 67 GEORGE. W. BAIN INSURANCE BROKER SUNDERLAND around the rim, in small compact sanserif lettering; first stop bl, second slightly higher;
 BEST / MARKET / FOR contained in outline of a shield $15 \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ surmounted INSUR/A/NCES by a small crown; the words arranged in the same fashion as in R. 59 of Albert W. Bain, but the word MARKET slightly wider.
 Bh 25
- 79 O. 47 *Standard.* Compared with O. 7, the head is from the same punch and the extremities of the legend occupy the same positions; internally the legend is rotated anticlockwise, and the third digit of III lies to the left of the central laurel tip
 R. 68 DRINK ONLY / ornament / SERJEANT'S / "ABSOLUTELY PURE" / -TEA- / 2/- & 2/6 PER lb. / + / I COVENTRY ST W
 occupying the whole field; the first and (tiny) last lines curved to the rim, the third line wavy. '6' is dipped; 'lb' is cursive.
 Bh 25
- 80 O. 48 FOUNDED IN THE REIGN OF GEORGE III / 1787 around laureated head to right.
 R. 69 WM PEARSELL. curved, at upper third of rim; mh stops;
 9 NEW ST BIRMINGHAM curved, at lower two-thirds of rim.
 Around crowned shield similar to that of R. 47. *Shield:* $13\frac{1}{2} \times 14$. *Harp:* large, hooped at top right, open at base. *Luneburg arms:* semé.
 All lettering large and bold.
 Bh: H 25½
- 81 O. 49 *Standard* but without stop. Very similar to O. 23 but differences in the ribbon-ends, and opposite the nose is g where previously came the rear limb of R.
 R. 70 N.C.R.ET.CO.DG.I.REX.F.D.B.I.R.M / .1790.
 Around crowned shield. *Stops:* mh at date, remainder bl. *Shield:* 14×14 , the F comes level with its top. *Scottish arms:* have pairs of parallel lines above and below. *Harp:* large, the effigy's head inset, the rear of the frame almost vertical.
 L 26
- 82 O. 50 As O. 18 but at root of truncation is an incuse marking of three almost parallel strokes resembling an incomplete w. The strokes are closer together than those of the m in O. 53 but could be a first impression of this struck too lightly.
 R. 71 MACNIVEN.&.CAMERONS.PENS.ARE.THE.BEST
 Around crowned outline shield 14×14 containing:
 WAVERLEY / NILE / PICKWICK / OWL / HINDOO / PENS / -
Stops: mh. *Crown:* tiny, with mitred arches
Die axis: inverted.
 H; L 26

GUINEA SIZE—continued

- 83 O. 51 *Standard* but without stop. The laurel tips do not protrude beyond top of head, which is fairly flat, with short bulging forehead, mouth ajar, receding chin. A long wig covers the ear and descends below it in a smooth curve to the neck.
- R. 72 Similar to R. 10 but: small harp, high in compartment; and only one animal for Brunswick.
- L 25
- 84 O. 3 *See no. 4.*
- R. 73 IN MEMORY OF THE GOOD OLD DAYS / .1797.
Around crowned shield. *Stops*: mh *Shield*: $12\frac{1}{2} \times 12$. *Scottish arms*: in plain rectangle, no partition line. *Horse*: plunging. *Inesc.*: absent.
- H 25½
- 85 O. 40 *See no. 65.*
- R. 74 As described for R. 73 except: large letters and figures; large pearls for outer arches of crown. *Shield*: $12\frac{1}{2} \times 11$. *Harp*: large, with long hoof-like foot.
- H 26
- 86 O. 25 *See no. 45.*
- R. 75 CENTENARY OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH around upper two-thirds of rim;
. BIRMINGHAM . around lower third of rim;
REV. R. B. BURGESS M.A. VICAR semicircular, as upper inner legend.
In the field is an elevation, with horizontal base, of side and front of the church; the spire, on the right, reaches to the periphery after ST.
JUNE 2.1879 in straight line below the base.
All reverse lettering is sanserif; outer leg. small with mh stops, inner leg. tiny with bl stops.
- Bh 25½
- 87 O. 52 *Standard* but without stop. The head has the appearance of being an imitation of the one in O. 20; the rear details are coarsely drawn, with smaller end of ribbon and there is no ribbon on the side of the neck. Tall narrow lettering; between III and DEI is a wide gap measuring 7 mm. at bases.
- R. 76 Description generally as for R. 32 but: all stops mh; the harp fills compartment; the effigy's foot is distinct from the base of the back of frame; empty Westphalia compartment.
- Die axis*: 11 o'clock.
- Bh (white-metal coated) 25
- 88 O. 24 *See no. 44.*
- R. 77 Similar to R. 37 but larger harp and tiny lys.
- H 26

GUINEA SIZE—continued

- 89 O. 53 As O. 18 but signed at root of truncation with an incuse letter M.
 R. 78 IN MEMORY OF THE GOOD OLD DAYS / .1768.
 Around crowned shield. *Stops*: mh *Crown*: Tall, mitred arches. *Shield*:
 $13\frac{1}{2} \times 14$ *Harp*: Tall, with tall gracefully curved effigy whose head touches
 the horizontal partition line. *Inesc.*: Rather large, containing a pointed
 shield. H 25
- 90 O. 16 See no. 32.
 R. 79 JEWELLER & WATCH DEALER around upper half or rim;
 J. H. ROBERTS / 12 / CHARLES ST / LR. BYROM / ST across the field, the top
 line curved and having mh stops.
 . MANCHESTER . around lower half of rim, mh stops. H 25
- 91 O. 54 *Standard* but without stop. Tall head, coarsely drawn; large features with
 very long straight nose. The ribbon loop is horizontal and almost reaches
 o to which it points. The truncation tip touches the rim.
 R. 29 See no. 37. Bh 24½
- 92 O. 50 See no. 82
 R. 80 An owl (7 mm. high) reaching almost to the rim is perched on a shield outline
 $13 \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ flanked by laurel sprays with the uppermost leaves resting on
 top of the shield.
 THE NILE / WAVERLEY / PICKWICK / HINDOO / AND OWL / PENS
 inside the shield, in very small sanserif lettering;
 THEY CREATE / WONDER & DELIGHT / SOLD EVERYWHERE +
 around the rim in a 2 mm. band left by an inner circle, in even smaller
 sanserif lettering; the first two groups of words read inwards and are
 separated by the owl's head, the third is below and reads outwards.
Die axis: 3 o'clock; which allows a neat piercing to penetrate the obv. after III and the
 rev. before SOLD leaving both legends unspoilt. Bh 25
- 93 O. 55 Similar to O. 18, O. 50, and O. 53 but: the legend ends a little higher, the
 ribbon loop is pointed. Signature illegible on worn present specimen.
 R. 81 MAYON FURNITURE DEALER ESTABLISHED / .1848. around rim; mh stops.
 Around crowned shield outline $13\frac{1}{2} \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ containing inscription:
 10 & 11 / HOLLOWAY / HEAD / BIRME the second line bowed upwards and the
 fourth line bowed downwards. Bh 24½

GUINEA SIZE—continued

- 94 O. 56 *Standard* but without stop; the final A touches the truncation tip. The head itself is almost circular in plan, with receding lower jaw and lower lip, but an indentation below the mouth leaves the small chin obtruding.
- R. 82 H.O.N.I.S.O.I.T.Q.I.M.A.L.Y.P.E.N.S.E. / .1781 with mh stops.
Around crowned shield from the same punch, and with numerals of the same shape, as in R. 1. (Misspelling Q.I. as shown.) Bh 24½
- 95 O. 57 *Standard*. Broad head with obtruding large portrait. The free end of ribbon, instead of hanging freely, projects further leftwards than the loop, in a downward turn.
- R. 83 N.C.R.ET.CO.DG. I.REX F.D.B.I.R.M / .1790.
Around crowned shield. *Stops*: bl *Shield*: 14½ × 14 *Scottish arms*: semé field instead of tressure. *Lys*: each resembles an inverted arrowhead joined to a plus sign. *Harp*: points to centre of shield; trunk of effigy parallel with curve of shield. *Inesc.* reveals junction of partition lines. H 25½
- 96 O. 7 *See no. 11.*
- R. 84 BEECROFT'S / FANCY / REPOSITORY / CHEAPSIDE / POULTRY / NOTTINGHAM
Occupying whole field, in a circle of fine beads. The first and last words have larger letters than the rest and are curved to the rim. H 25
- 97 O. 7 *As last.*
- R. 85 . BEECROFT'S . / FOR PRESENTS / ornament / MARKET PLACE / & / CHEAPSIDE /
. NOTTINGHAM .
Occupying whole field, arranged with the third line straight and stretching right across and the others as outer and inner circles; larger letters for the first and last words; mh stops. Bh 25
- 98 O. 3 *See no. 4.*
- R. 86 BEECROFT&SONS / EXCHANGE / CORNER / MARKET PLACE / NOTTINGHAM
In low relief on a blank field flat at rim. The first and last lines follow the curvature of the rim. The rest are in flatter curves, arranged the second above the third, the fourth as a counter-curve in small letters stretching right across the fifth. Sanserif lettering. H 25½
- 99 O. 58 *Standard* but without stop. Tall narrow head, with straight forehead continuing into long sharp slightly convex nose; a long stretch of back hair, almost no curls.
- R. 4 *See no. 4.* Bh 25½

GUINEA SIZE—continued

- 100 O. 59 *Standard* but without stop. The numeral is widely and unevenly spaced. The portrait has broad nostrils and feminine proportions. Large central top laurel leaf. The truncation root forms with the lowest curl a triangle.
- R. 87 WHITE HORSE HOTEL / .CONGREVE ST placed at upper two-thirds and lower third of the rim.
Around inner circle enclosing pence value $2\frac{1}{2}$ in large digits. Bh 25
- NOTE—As the number of varieties in the guinea size has exceeded the original serial allotment, the continuation beyond no. 100 is numbered as 201 ff.
- 201 O. 60 *Standard*. Broad head, thick neck, but amiable expression. The loop of the ribbon is small and nestles against the neck; the free end nearly reaches the letter-bases, midway between the G and the E.
- R. 88 Partitions divide the upper from the lower half of the periphery between an inner circle and the rim. Within these halves are:
GREEN & SON above; 44 HIGH ST LYNN below. In the field is:
THE / PEOPLE'S / CLOTHIER / — • —
King's Lynn Museum 25
- 202 O. 61 *Standard* with addition of 1770 below the head. The portrait has a Roman nose; a large curl hangs below the ear. Except in these details the head is similar to the one shared between O. 18, O. 43, etc. (see page 160).
- R. 89 J. CROSLAND 21 & 9 CLUMBER ST & 37 PELHAM ST
in sanserif lettering occupying the whole periphery. First stop bl, second mh. CHEESE / STORES occurs as left and right segments of inner curved legend. Around crowned shield. *Shield*: 11 × 12 *Harp*: misshapen; the effigy's head is halfway along the top, which is steeply sloped causing the front to be sharply pointed. *Inesc.*: absent. Bh 25
- 203 O. 6 *See no. 8*. Worn state of die.
- R. 90 IRELAND WEAR ERSKINE'S GOOD HATS / .BELFAST. at rim, mh stops;
NORTH STREET as inner semicircular legend, above.
All lettering tall, narrow, sanserif. Around crowned shield. *Shield*: 11 × 10½
Scottish lion: framed by double parallel lines above and below, and single vertical lines at the sides which intersect them. U 26
- 204 O. 6 *As last*.
- R. 91 . PATTERSON'S . / BREAD AND RICH CAKES at rim, mh stops;
BELFAST as inner semi-circular legend, above.
Lettering: surname large and spaced; wares tall narrow sanserif; place name sanserif. Around crowned shield. *Shield*: 11 × 10 with sharp base U 27

HALF-GUINEA SIZE

- 131 O. 121 *Standard* but without stop. Tall narrow head, sharp nose, indrawn chin. The ribbon is formed in a rounded bow with no loose ends. Below the bow are abundant loose curls, one of which has a straight tip resting against the back of the first g.
- R. 127 BEECROFT & SONS / EXCHANGE / CORNER / MARKET PLACE / NOTTINGHAM
Sanserif. All lines of lettering are curved, the first and fourth forming a bow enclosing the second and third.
- Bh; H 21
- 132 O. 121 *As last.*
- R. 128 Similar to R. 124 but: *Shield*: $10\frac{1}{2} \times 10$ *Harp*: larger.
- H 21
- 133 O. 122 GEORGIVS II DEI GRATIA
Around laureated head to right, closely resembling the head in O. 118; showing the wrong numeral as in that obv. but large lettering.
- R. 129 Similar to R. 122; crowned shield from the same punch, smaller lettering. The top of the shield points to the same portions of legend as in R. 121.
- H 21
- 134 O. 116 *See no. 123.*
- R. 130 Similar to R. 119-121 but: centre of c level with top of shield, base of shield lies leftward of the 9. The harpstrings are retrograde as in R. 122 and R. 129.
- L $20\frac{1}{2}$
- 135 O. 123 *Standard* but without stop. Small head, strong brutal portrait. Upper loop of ribbon points to second g. Two parallel wavy strands of hair point downwards on the shoulder (which is otherwise bare).
- R. 131 Similar to R. 106. *Shield*: $11 \times 11\frac{1}{2}$. *Harp*: small. The crown is badly drawn, with broken tops to the arches because the two parallel lines indicating them are placed too low on the left and droop lower still on the right.
- J 21
- 136 O. 124 *Standard*. Well-executed head and lettering, of general style of the most frequently used guinea obverses such as O. 7, though with a rolled curl below the truncation. Open mouth.
- R. 132 PARKINS & GOTTO / . OXFORD ST . Fancy lettering for the firm's name. Mh stops.
LONDON Over a crowned shield $18\frac{1}{2} \times 18\frac{1}{2}$.
Very similar to R. 14 (the reverse of the corresponding guinea) though different arrangement of the animals.
- Bh 21

SUBJECTS AND LEGENDS

The following supplementary catalogue numbers should be added to those placed in the margin alongside the notes on their subjects in the original catalogue as shown below:

<i>Cat. nos.</i>	<i>Page and sub-heading in BNJ xxxii</i>	
75-76	209	J. Sainsbury
81, 95	203	N.C.R. & Co.
82, 92	201	Macniven & Cameron
83	198	G.Y.I. et F.G.
87	204	G.L.
88	205	C.W.B. & Co.
133-134	205	W.C.B. & Co.
91	203	J.R. & J.W.
99	196	Charles Peverelle
135	197	T.B. et T.A.
136	200	Parkins & Gotto

Notes on new subjects now follow.

77 *Blunt's Drug Stores*

The legend on this 'guinea' discloses no locality, contains a trade description which is commonplace in North America etc. but fairly uncommon in England, and offers cheapness. The obverse (O. 6) is the commonest in this series; it was used on behalf of tradesmen in various localities, until at latest the early 1890's.

A Dr. J. H. Blunt founded in 1846 at Northampton a retail business of herbalist which in the 1870's became J. H. Blunt & Son at 46, Drapery. There it changed by 1883 to J. H. Blunt & Sons, chemists, wholesale druggists and drysalters (with a further shop) and the following year it was advertised as *Blunt's Northampton Drugstores*. By 1889 the shop at 2, Parade with *Ltd* added to the style, trading by 1893 as cash dispensing chemists with branches at Coventry and Birmingham. The titular Sons, who had been running the business since 1886, eventually dissolved the company and split up, J. H. Blunt junior moving as chemist to 4 Abington Street, where his business ended soon afterwards upon his death (1912), and Francis Frederick Blunt to 46 Abington Square under the description *drug stores*. Cheapness was a characteristic at F. F. Blunt's shop, which stayed at the same site and kept its description and his name until the business came to an end c. 1960.

This business of the Blunt family thus provides a plausible attribution for the 'guinea'. Although in that context the long and stably titled duration of the final shop might seem the most likely ascription, Northampton itself has seemed particularly immune to the Birmingham-inspired method of advertising by metallic discs. A better setting would be the period when the business was actually in contact with Birmingham and during which, moreover, the obverse

die was more likely to have been available. It is thus suggested that the 'guinea' was produced in the early 1890's for J. H. Blunt & Sons Ltd, of Northampton, Coventry, and Birmingham, and possibly intended particularly for promoting the new branches in the two latter localities.

78 *George W. Bain, insurance broker, Sunderland.*

George Washington Bain, brother or father of Albert W. Bain of Leeds (cat. no. 69), set up business as an insurance broker in Sunderland in 1874. An early address was St. Thomas Street, and by 1890 he moved to 24 John Street. The style later became George W. Bain & Co., which eventually was amalgamated in 1958 with a similar Sunderland business Salvus Insurance to form the present Salvus, Bain & Co. Ltd., insurance brokers and underwriting agents, still without leaving John Street.

The obverse of the 'guinea' is the same common O. 6 as for no. 77 above but from an early state of the die and the issue may suggestibly be dated therefore to c. 1880.

79 *Serjeant's Tea, 1 Coventry Street, W.*

In London in the 1870's and 1880's, two groups of grocery shops were active simultaneously under a single style Serjeant & Co., one group in the Shaftesbury Avenue area run by Cornelius Serjeant, the other in the south-east districts run by Francis Serjeant; the addresses fluctuated. In 1888 Francis moved his interest to a single address in a fresh district at 185 Brompton Road, S.W., and in 1889 this shop was taken over by Francis George Serjeant. Also in 1889 Albert Francis Serjeant replaced Cornelius, then in 1890 he concentrated his group into a single new shop in Nassau House, 120 Shaftesbury Avenue, W., and dealt also in bottled beer and spirits.

No. 1 Coventry Street, London, W., was one of the shops in the (Cornelius) Serjeant & Co. group from 1877 to 1887.

80 *Wm. Pearsall, 9 New Street, Birmingham.*

The William Pearsall who used the above address began his occupancy of it in 1901, as a silversmith. By 1914 he was designated as a jeweller; he remained there until at least 1925.

An unsuccessful search in nineteenth century directories of Birmingham for any previous history of the above business has ruled out 9 New Street as regards both the name and the type of business. In attempted tracing backwards towards the asserted founding in the reign of George III there is a range of possibilities: in the second half of the nineteenth century two rival candidates named William Pearson are available (at other addresses), and before them the searcher is left to speculate between continuity in the same name but different trades and addresses or one continuation of those features but a different name.

- 90 *J. H. Roberts, jeweller, Manchester.*

This tradesman started his business at the address shown on the 'guinea' and occupied it for a period within the limits 1876-83 including definitely 1881. By 1884 he moved to 139 Regent Road, Salford.

- 93 *Mayon, furniture dealer, Birmingham.*

The correct designation was: William Mayon (late M. Underwood established 1848), [furniture] broker and cabinet maker. The business was founded at 209 High Street, Deritend, Birmingham, by Joseph Underwood, cabinet maker, who moved in 1853 to 11 Holloway Head, Birmingham, under the designation furniture broker. Mrs. Maria Underwood (his widow?) continued this trade from c. 1861; Mayon succeeded her in 1872/5 and added no. 10. In 1888/91 Mayon, having already relinquished no. 10, moved from no. 11 to no. 120 Holloway Head but as a beer retailer.

The maximum duration of Mayon's tenure of nos. 10 and 11 jointly was 1872-87.

- 96-98, *Beecroft & Sons, Nottingham.*

131-132 This Nottingham business of fancy goods retailer was established in 1852 in the High Street, at the corner of Chancery Lane, and its later addresses have all been in the same central area. By 1863 Charles Beecroft was at 5 Long Row East. The address in Cheapside (off Poultry) lasted from 1878 to 1887, followed by Exchange Buildings (Market Place) 1887-1925, then Pelham Street until early 1964. The present company is Beecrofts Toys Ltd at 12-14 Drury Hill, with a second shop in Avenue F, Central Market acquired in 1960 but not bearing their name until early 1964. This company is still a Beecroft family concern and deals in toys, games and models.

Besides the items catalogued here, two varieties of Beecroft advertisement discs bearing the head of Queen Victoria have been noted.

- 100 *White Horse Hotel, Congreve Street.*

Congreve Street, Birmingham, was built within the period 1732-66. The White Horse commercial hotel was instituted during that period, and was closed down in July 1965 for demolition as part of the extensive civic redevelopment of the city centre.

- 201 *Green & Son, clothiers, Lynn.*

Green & Son were active in King's Lynn, Norfolk, by 1863 as hosiers, and later were additionally haberdashers; the business appears to have come to an end within 1900-1912. From the mid-1860's the address was always in the High Street, the numbering was 21, 22, and 44 in 1882, and any tenure of solely no. 44 as implied by the 'guinea' occurred within either 1868-81 or 1883-98.

This was a Nottingham business, established about 1843 by Samuel Crosland. Jabez Crosland took it over c. 1850 as provision merchant, at 39 Pelham Street where he remained until at least 1863, and between then and 1884 the number changed to 37. In 1883/4 he moved shop to 9 & 21 Clumber Street and also set up as a farmer at Sneinton, a suburb of Nottingham. His last date of retail activity was 1892, at 9 Clumber Street and 4 Cheapside; in the following year he was still at the farm.

The retailing was in Pelham Street in 1882 and in Clumber Street in 1884, so that the move temporarily involving tenure in the two streets simultaneously—implied by the ‘guinea’—must have been in 1883.

The obverse dating 1770 is unexplained; it has no link with the previously listed ‘guineas’ showing the same date, which are assigned (*BNJ* xxxii page 203) to the twentieth century.

- 203 *Erskine's hats, Belfast* }
 204 *Patterson's bread, Belfast* }

The identities of these issuers is discussed by Mr. R. H. M. Dolley elsewhere in this *Journal* (*infra* p. 170).

- 82, 89 *Signatures w (?) and m.*

Five obverses form a group from evidently a single master punch of the king's head: O. 18 (signed S.L.), O. 43 & O. 55 (no clear signatures), O. 50 (signed w ?), and O. 53 (signed M). The seat of diesinking of them all is thought to be Brookes & Adams, and S.L. the initials of one of their craftsmen (*v. ibid.* p. 204); the other initials may have been those of other of their craftsmen or control marks of the firm.

ISSUE-DATING

<i>Cat. nos.</i>	<i>Dating</i>	<i>Cat. nos.</i>	<i>Dating</i>
75	As for cat. 58	90	1876-83
76	As for cat. 60	91	1873-91
77	Early 1890's	92	1873 ?
78	c. 1880	93	1872-87
79	1877-87	94	c. 1870
80	c. 1901 ?	96, 97	1878-87
81, 95	1875-80 ?	98	1887-1907
82	1880's ?	131, 132	1887-1925
83	1878-81	100	1890's ?
84, 99	1870-1907	201	Prob. 1883-98
85	As for cat. 65	202	1883
86	1879	133, 134	1900-14 ?
87, 88	(20th c.)	135	1865-90
89	c. 1890 ?	136	1878-90

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author is grateful for the assistance provided by A. J. H. Gunstone, Esq. of the Birmingham City Museum & Art Gallery—where the collection first became available during the latter part of 1964 for systematic curation, as was explained in the *Numismatic Circular* for December 1964, and for assistance by: Mr. Charles H. Lipsky; Beecroft's Toys Ltd (G. F. Beecroft, Esq.); J. Sainsbury Ltd (F. W. Salisbury, Esq.), for corrections; Salvus Bain & Co. Ltd.; and the public library authorities at Birmingham, King's Lynn, Northampton, and Nottingham.

GENERAL GORDON'S KHARTOUM STAR

By DANIEL FEARON

CHARLES GEORGE GORDON was born in London on January 23rd, 1833, near the Woolwich Arsenal. With his family he moved to Dublin, Edinburgh, and then, at the age of seven, to Corfu. After three years the family returned to England and he was educated at Taunton. He became a Cadet at Woolwich at the age of 15, and in June, 1852, he received his commission, as a 2nd-lieutenant in the Royal Engineers (it having been postponed once, following a fight with a fellow cadet). He was stationed at Chatham for two years, and then at Pembroke Docks, where he was when war broke out in the Crimea. To Gordon, perhaps the most important outcome of this war was to be his friendship with Captain, later Lord, Wolseley.

In 1860 the Taeping Rebellion was raging in China, and during the next five years it was Gordon's task to quell it. The Emperor bestowed on him 'The Yellow Jacket and Peacock's Feather of the Order of Mandarin, First Class', and also the highest military rank, that of 'Ti-Tu'. The two Empresses awarded him the 'Gold Medal of Distinction' (on his return he erased his name from this medal and sold it to raise funds for the distressed cotton workers in Lancashire, out of work because the American Civil War had all but stopped their supplies). He returned to England in 1865, a colonel, a Companion of the Bath, and a national hero—Chinese Gordon.

Gordon's next mission, six years later, took him first to the Danube, and then to the Crimea, where it was his job to inspect the war graves. He was returning home, when at Constantinople, the Khedive offered him the job of 'Governor of the tribes of Upper Egypt', which he accepted, having first received the Queen's permission. He left to take up this post in the autumn of 1873, and for the next seven years he was 'clearing up' the Sudan. After this campaign he returned home, and soon set sail for India, intending to be Secretary to the new Viceroy, Lord Ripon, but instead he returned to England on the first ship. A short while later he was in China again, in order to quell a revolt by Li Hung Chang. He was then back in London until he took over the command of the Royal Engineers in Mauritius. He came back from this post by way of the Cape, where he tried without any success to help the Governor, Sir Hercules Robinson, over a settlement plan.

Gordon was a man of strong, and in many ways strange, religious views, and now he found time for a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. (This was well portrayed in the small exhibition of Gordon material at the British Museum, arranged by the Department of Manuscripts during the summer of 1963, at which my Khartoum Star was also on view.)

On returning from the pilgrimage Gordon was in Brussels, and was on the point of accepting a job in the Congo, when on January 17th, 1884, he received a telegram from Lord Wolseley begging him to come to London at once. The Sudan was in revolt and the leader, Mohammed Ahmed, was drawing support by claiming to be the Mahdi. Gordon was in London the next morning and attended a Cabinet meeting with Wolseley. Gordon was later to write of the visit, 'He (Worseley) went in and talked to the ministers and came back and said, 'Her Majesty's government want you to undertake this. The government are determined to evacuate the Sudan, for they will not undertake to guarantee its safety. Will you go and do it?' I said "Yes!" He said, "Go in." I went in and saw them. They said, "Did Wolseley

tell you your orders?" I said "Yes." I said "You will not guarantee the future government of the Sudan, and you wish me to go up and evacuate now?" They said, "Yes" and it was all over, and I left at 8 p.m. for Calais.'

By January 26th Gordon was in Cairo, and with Colonel Stewart (later murdered on board the *Abbas*), left for Khartoum two days later, arriving on February 18th. Details of the siege are too many to be mentioned here, but conditions were never favourable, and as early as April the idea of a decoration had occurred to Gordon. On the 26th of that month he wrote to Sir Evelyn Baring, 'We are making decorations for the defence of Khartoum—a crescent and a star, with words from the Koran and date, so we can count on victory—officers silver, men copper. You will not be asked to pay for them.' This particular design was never followed. However on July 30th he sent a letter jointly to Nubar Pasha and Baring, in which he wrote, 'We have made a decoration with three degrees, silver-gilt, silver, and pewter, with inscription, 'Siege of Khartoum', and with a grenade in centre. School children and women have also received one; consequently I am very popular with the black ladies of Khartoum' He repeats this in a letter to Wolseley, dated November 14th, 'We have got a decoration made and distributed, with a grenade in centre; three classes, Gold, Silver, Pewter.'

The emphasis on 'decoration' rather than 'medal' would seem to show that Gordon intended it to be awarded for the rendering of some service, whether it be lending money or bravery. It is a copy of The Order of the Medijie, and does read, in Arabic, 'Siege of Khartoum'. It is also dated in Arabic. The grenade in the centre is, more than likely, an idea adapted from the badge of the Royal Engineers, Gordon's regiment. Most decorations have a crescent and star as a loop for suspension.

After the siege, a native officer wrote to Gordon's sister; and having explained about the medals, and how he received three of them, he describes their manufacture, 'the design of the decoration was drawn by General Gordon himself in Khartoum. He then caused several goldsmiths to cast a model from the drawing, and then he chose the best one. He had a whole number of decorations struck under his supervision.' In *The War Medal Record*† the goldsmith chosen is named as Bishara Abdel Molak.

Of the three classes of the decoration the same book states, 'The silver-gilt stars were issued to all officers of the rank of Bimb and upwards; to merchants, notables, and civilian employees (about forty). Each notable or merchant was charged at first £10 for the decoration; the money was distributed to the poor, every notable was allowed to order his own badge . . .' There follows a list of twenty survivors of the siege who held the decoration. The medal, in fact, contains no silver or gilt, but is described as thus purely on its appearance. There is a specimen in the British Museum which, with kind permission, is reproduced as Fig. 1. Another specimen was offered for sale in Spink's *Numismatic Circular*, July-August, 1962, No. 6554.

The silver star (another misnomer) was, according to *The War Medal Record*, awarded to 'All officers of the rank of Mulazim up to Sagh only.' The specimen illustrated (Fig. 2) is from my collection. The pewter star, issued 'To all N.C.O.s and men; female servants of the troops and the students of the school', would appear to be very similar to the silver, but noticeably poorer in quality and finish.

That women received the decoration is undeniable, but there is no evidence to suggest that it was any different from the men's award. The specimen illustrated in *The War Medal*

†*The War Medal Record and Orders of Knighthood*. Vol. 2. Spink and Son, 1898.



FIG. 3



FIG. 1

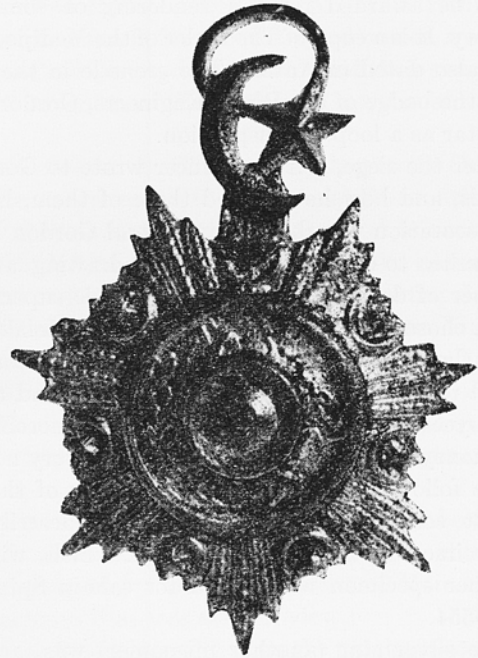


FIG. 2

Record, (Fig. 3) would appear to be a fabrication of the ordinary pewter star, probably being adapted from one that was badly cast. The story behind it might well be explained by the fact that it was bought for 'Half a tin pot of black currant jam.'

The only contemporary illustration of the decoration that has come to my attention is in *Gordon and the Mahdi—an illustrated narrative of the Sudan War*, a one-shilling booklet published in 1885. The class of the decoration is not stated, and the engraver, as well as

producing a 'mirror-image', has adapted the centre to fit the text, and turned the grenade into a pomegranate. (If once written in French the word 'grenade' might have caused this.) It is said to be the specimen that Gordon sent Khedive Ismail with the following letter, 'To his Highness the august Ismail Pasha, ex-Khedive of Egypt (May God protect him). Amongst the many honours which your Highness was pleased to shower on me during your gracious reign, you have bestowed on me many decorations of which I am proud and for which I am grateful. Having been appointed Governor of the Sudan, I repaired at once to my post, and arrived safe and sound at Khartoum. Two months later communication with the North was cut off and the city was besieged. During the siege it has been my lot to witness many cases in which soldiers, civil employees, and leading men of the country have displayed courage and self-sacrifice in valiantly undergoing difficulties and privations. To reward their commendable conduct and fidelity I have caused decorations to be made for distribution amongst them. I had previously sent a specimen of this decoration to your Highness by the Steamer *Abbas*; but as I fear it may never have reached you, I send you today another for your acceptance. Receive it, Highness, in remembrance of my affectionate devotion, with the respectful homage of your grateful and faithful servant, (signed) C. G. Gordon, Khartoum, December 3rd, 1884.'



FIG. 4

I am unable to prove the authenticity of this document, but its contents provide a fitting summary of this decoration, which helped the morale of those in Khartoum to stand up to the siege for over eleven months. The outcome of the siege, with the arrival of the relief force too late by only two days, and the following political furore, are well known. The white-metal medallion (Fig. 4) is basically a reaction to strong public feeling. To many, Gordon had indeed been 'Deliberately abandoned to his fate until too late', and (at the expense of Gladstone) he was mourned as 'The Latest Christian Martyr'.

MISCELLANEA

THREE ANCIENT BRITISH COINS.

Mr. F. K. ANNABLE, F.S.A., kindly allows me to publish a Gallo-Belgic E stater which has recently come into the possession of Devizes Museum (pl. XVI, 26). It was ploughed up in a field at Castle Eaton just south of the Thames in the extreme north of Wiltshire, a map reference 1" sheet 157 1510/9560. An air photograph by the late Major Allen, kindly supplied by Mr. C. W. Phillips, makes it clear that the field in question was largely covered by an earthwork of Little Woodbury type (*Proc. Prehist. Soc.* vi, 1940, 30-111) and the coin which was found near the centre of the field must also have been in or near what appears to be a sizeable circular house surrounded by a roughly circular palisade with an entrance towards the north east. The coin (D. 17 mm.) weighs 4.450 gms. and its specific gravity of 11.1 is less than that of lead. A flaw in the dot under the horse suggests the possibility that the gold is plated over a copper core. Moreover, the style is far removed from such elegant coins as Mack 27 and those in the Frasnies hoard (*N.C.*, N.S., iv, 1864, 96). Early coins of this type minted in Belgic Gaul weigh up to 6.350 gms. with specific gravity up to 14.5. They are considered to date from about 80 B.C. Details of the Castle Eaton coin suggest a mint on the British side of

the Channel and a date some thirty years later. The distribution of this coin in England is well shown in Allen's map 2 O.S. *Map of Southern Britain in the Iron Age*. Only two others are known in Wiltshire, from Burbage, Marlborough and Roundway, Devizes (D. F. Allen *Origins of Coinage in Britain* 1959, 166).

Miss M. A. Budgett, Curator of the Shaftesbury Museum, kindly allows me to publish two silver staters of the Durotriges (Mack 317) in her possession (pl. XVI, 27-28). They were presented to the Museum together with a bronze palstave by Mr. Farley Rutter, Chairman of the Shaftesbury Historical Society, and are said to have been found together, between 1850 and 1860, in the parish of Cann which is a part of Shaftesbury. They belonged to his grandfather. A label on this surprising group reads: 'Celt and 2 coins, Druidical, found in Shaston'.

	A	B
Weight	5.271 gms.	4.651 gms.
Specific grav.	9.41	8.81
Die Axes	✓	✓
Diameter	19 mm.	20.5 m.m.

HUGH SHORTT

THREE NEW ANCIENT BRITISH COINS.

The three Ancient British coins described below have recently come into my possession.

1. EISU stater of the Dobunni (pl. XVI, 29).

This differs from the comparatively few known staters attributed to this chieftain in having the letters (R)IC placed under the horse's head and between its forelegs in a similar manner to the inscribed stater of ANTED RIC. The R in this case is off the flan but it must have been in the die.

There has been in the past some doubt as to whether ANTED or ANTEO represented the full reading or whether this chieftain's name was Antedric. It is now certain, on the evidence of the EISU coin, that RIC is a title or form of REX. Perhaps it is a shortened form of RICONI, a word which appears on certain staters of Tasciovanus and which must also presumably be some form of title.

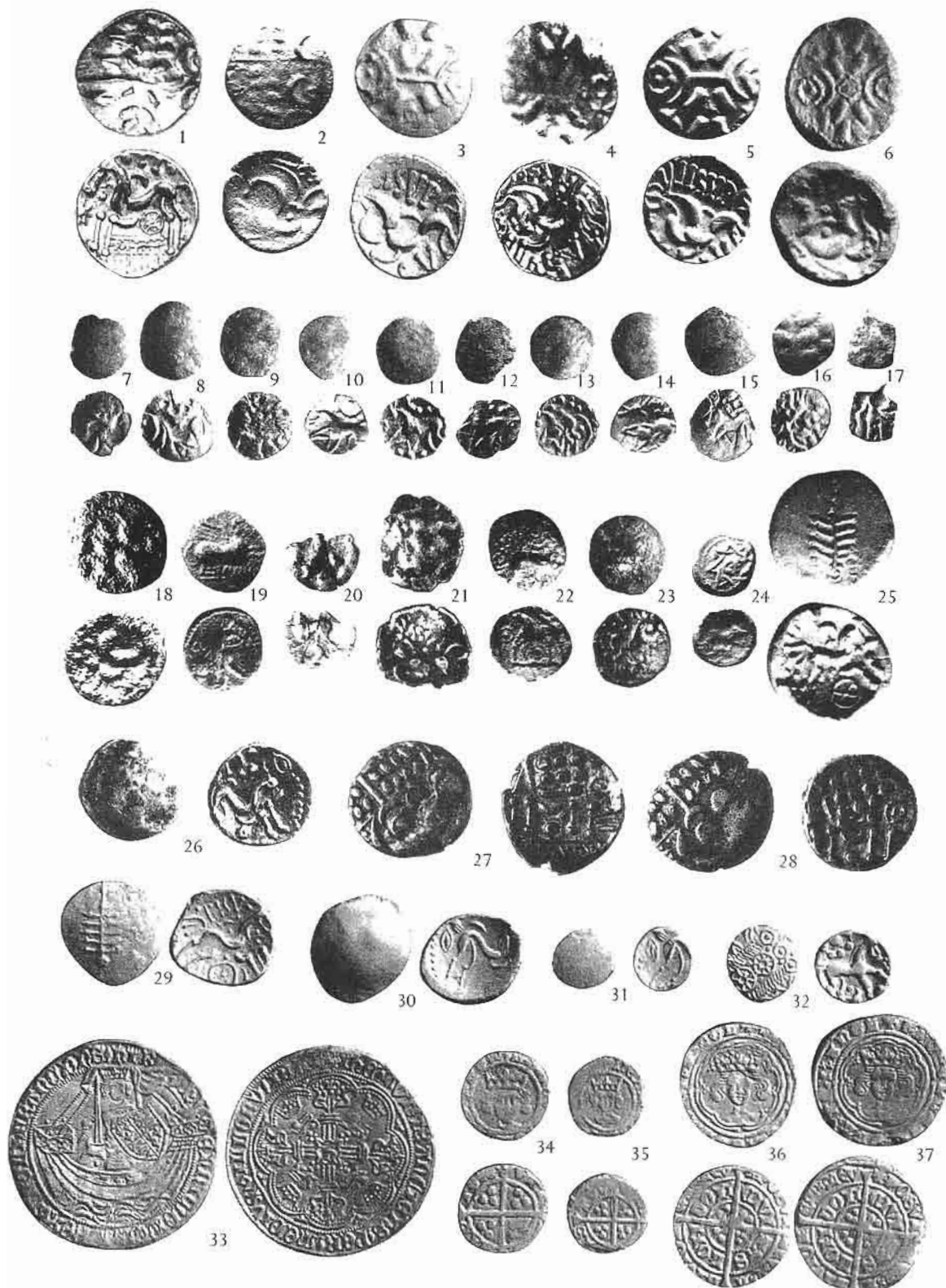
The Eisu coin was found at Droitwich, Worcestershire, in 1956.

2. Quarter stater of the Morini.

Mr. Derek Allen in his paper on the Haslemere Hoard¹ says that it was often suspected that occasional quarter staters were struck from stater dies. This was proved to be correct when two quarter staters turned up on the continent in 1962 struck from the same dies as certain staters in the Haslemere Hoard, die F in Mr. Allen's paper.

Now another quarter stater has come to light also struck from the same dies as a stater in the Haslemere Hoard but of a different variety, die A in Mr. Allen's paper. Both the stater and quarter stater are illustrated on Plate XVI, 30 and 31. The quarter stater formed lot 103 in Glendining's sale of May 19 1964.

¹ *BNJ*, 1962, vol. xxxi, p. 3.



1-25 ALLEN A CELTIC MISCELLANY; 26-8 SHORTT, THREE ANCIENT BRITISH COINS; 29-32 MACK, THREE NEW ANCIENT BRITISH COINS; 33 SCHNEIDER, HENRY VI NOBLE; 34-7 ARCHIBALD, TWO 15th CENT. NOTES

3. Quarter stater of the Atreates (Pl. XVI, 32).

Only two quarter staters are recorded having the obverse design composed of two wheels between parallel corded lines. These are the B.M. specimen, Evans M2, and the coin which passed through the Captain Douglas, Carlyon-Britton (lot 23) and Bruun (lot 2) sales.

Now a third specimen has turned up but different from the other two in having the horse on the reverse facing to the right instead of the left, and with different ornaments in the field.

Its provenance is not known.

R. P. MACK

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE PALATINA OBOLUS OF LOTHAIRE II FOUND AT
LITTON CHENEY IN DORSET.

In the 1963 volume of this *Journal*¹ Professor K. F. Morrison and the present writer have published and claimed as genuine a novel obolus of the Palatina mint attributed to the German king Lothaire II (855-869). The coin had come to light in the course of excavations on the site of a Roman villa at Litton Cheney near Bridport in Dorset, and not only was it found personally by an archaeologist of the very highest repute, but the stratification was consistent in every way with loss in the early mediaeval period. As indicated in a postscript to that paper, though, the authenticity of the coin was impugned when it was offered for sale on the Continent, and surprisingly the suggestion was actually made that the coin belongs to a well-known group of modern forgeries. The English numismatist, however, is only too aware of how subjective the condemnation of certain coins can be in certain circumstances, and it is not unfair to remark that the dismissal of the new coin appears to stem in part at least from its superficial appearance, it having been asserted that the metal is tin and the fabric cast, and this despite the fact that there is no prototype, ancient or modern, to provide the modern fabricator with a model.

Wisely the Dorset County Museum decided to attach rather more significance to the circumstances of the coin's discovery, and the obolus was duly acquired by purchase from the owner of the site. In itself this may seem a very satisfactory expression of confidence in Professor Morrison's judgement where the Carolingian series is concerned, and also in the excavator's professional competence, not to say integrity, but neither of the authors of the 1963 paper in this *Journal* could feel entirely happy while there remained even a possibility that they had been deceived. Accordingly it was agreed that the Curator of the Dorchester Museum should submit the coin to the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, and that the British Museum Research Laboratory should be

asked to subject the piece to a searching scientific examination. By the courtesy of Dr. A. E. Werner, F.S.A., there is printed here the text of an initialled copy of a report by Dr. Werner, the Keeper of the Laboratory, and by his colleague Mr. R. M. Organ, F.S.A., now of the Royal Ontario Museum at Toronto.

1. General.

Some doubt had been expressed concerning the authenticity of the white metal coin which has been alleged to have been made of tin. It had been found in an unsealed layer near Dorchester and was in a clean condition when received.

The examination was directed to discovering whether the coin had been cast or struck, and the composition of the metal, but it was hampered by a request that the coin should not suffer noticeable defacement.

2. Microscopic examination.

Examination under a microscope at low power revealed that the coin was encrusted with pale green earthy material in certain areas. Elsewhere the surface had been damaged by the loss of a surface skin. The presence of this skin suggests that the surface had been heavily worked, as occurs when a blank is struck. The general appearance of the surface was consistent with the existence of some weakening of the metal as a result of mineralization. During the above examination, a microscopic fragment of metal became detached from an edge which was badly damaged. This fragment, which was about 0.14 mm. long and about 0.05 mm. thick, was used for analysis and metallographic examination.

3. Structure of the metal.

The fragment was mounted and polished in cross-section (M 710) and examined at a magnification of 720 diameters. This revealed a laminar structure characteristic of a struck

¹ R. H. M. Dolley and K. F. Morrison, 'Finds of Carolingian Coins from Great Britain and Ireland',

BNJ XXXII (1963), pp. 75-87.

coin. The nature of the material that gave rise to the laminae could not be determined with certainty in this minute sample, but it may have consisted of either lead or of inter-crystalline mineralization. An attempt at etching the metal failed to reveal any finer structure, but a red coloration by chromate indicated that the metal consisted of silver.

4. Analysis of the metal.

Qualitative spectrographic analysis of the fragment (S 566) revealed that the metal consisted of silver and gold with some copper, tin, zinc, lead and iron. The alloy would, therefore, appear to consist of a base silver.

5. Conclusion.

This coin has been struck from a base silver alloy and is in a condition consistent with fabrication in the tenth century.

The reference in the last sentence to 'the tenth century' should perhaps be explained. What seems to have happened is that when the obolus was submitted to the laboratory, it was wrongly described as an 'Obol of Lothair II, 954-986', presumably Lothaire II of France, the penultimate Carolingian, though in this case the identity of the

Palatina mint would seem to have cried out for elucidation. The slip is, however, immaterial to the wider question of the authenticity of the coin, and for 'the tenth century' we may read 'the ninth century' without fear of contradiction.

From Dr. Werner's report it seems clear:—

- (a) that the obolus is a struck piece,
- (b) that its condition is consistent in every way with very prolonged burial in the soil, and
- (c) that the metal is an alloy unlikely to be employed by a modern forger.

It will have been noticed that the impurities in the alloy are just those which recent analyses of some tenth-century Anglo-Saxon coins might have led one to expect,¹ and the present writer is not alone in thinking that the suggestion that the coin is a modern cast in tin should now be either substantiated or else withdrawn. A base silver alloy is precisely what the historian would wish to associate with the exiguous coinage of Lothaire II of Germany, and in the absence of objective criticism the obolus from Litton Cheney is one which we may surely accept as genuine.

R. H. M. DOLLEY

TWO FIFTEENTH CENTURY NOTES

A Bristol Penny of Henry VI restored²

THE coin illustrated in Pl. XVI, 34 weighs 10.2 grains and is an example of the missing Bristol penny of Henry VI restored. Although the letters of the legend are not visible to their full height they clearly read:

Obv.: HERICV DI GRA REX ANGL

Rev.: VII(LA B) RISTOW

This contraction of the king's name is also found on the York ecclesiastical pence of the same period.

The initial mark is a short cross fitchée of which the upper arm is off the flan. This makes it possible to identify as the same mark the cross on the already published Bristol halfpenny³ of the same class. (Pl. XVI, 35).

The alleged 'crescent-on-breast' half-groats of Richard II.

The London half-groat of Richard II (weight, 26.7 grains) illustrated on Pl. XVI, 36 is, as Mr. Jacob noted, an obverse die duplicate of a coin

from the Walters sale 1913 (lot 220) now in the British Museum which had been said to show a crescent on the king's breast.⁴ The latter coin illustrated in Pl. XVI, 37 and another from the same obverse die published as confirmation of this feature⁵ were both admitted to be in worn condition and the present coin is the first published example from the die to show the relevant area clearly. There is no crescent however on this coin. The feature is, as usual, a fleur which has been punched rather carelessly into the die exposing parts of the defective cusp ends which it would normally have covered. There is no reason to believe that the die was altered before the other two coins were struck. Indeed, one can see that if the features visible here were worn they would be the same as those on the Walters coin. Since the existence of 'crescent on breast' half-groats of Richard II at present depends on a favourable interpretation of this one die its rejection means that no such coins are now known.

M. M. ARCHIBALD

¹ J. S. Forbes and D. B. Dalladay, 'Composition of English Silver Coins (870-1300)', *BNJ* XXX, i (1960), pp. 82-87; E. J. Harris, 'Debasement of the Coinage', *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*, January 1960, pp. 5-7.

² The two coins which are the subject of these notes were submitted to the British Museum by Mr. T.-D. Clarke, Curator of the Colchester and Essex Museum, on the recommendation of Mr.

K. A. Jacob who is arranging a portion of the Museum's coin collection. It is with the kind permission of Mr. Clarke that I published my interpretation of them here.

³ *BNJ*, Vol. XXV, pp. 293 and 319.

⁴ *BNJ*, Vol. XXIX, p. 347. Supplement to Brooke's *English Coins*, p. 259.

⁵ *BNJ*, Vol. XXX, p. 150.

Through the courtesy of his nephew, Peter J. Seaby, the writer is able to publish a group of coins which was purchased by the firm, B. A. Seaby Ltd., in 1960/1. They came from Mr. M. Doyle, Belan More, Co. Kildare, Eire, but no details regarding the circumstances of their discovery have been revealed. In addition to the coins listed below there were probably two shillings of Edward VI, two or three Philip and Mary shillings and a shilling and sixpence of Elizabeth. Unfortunately these arrived sometime before the rest and were never married in with the remainder.

The 95 coins, now at the Ulster Museum, would therefore seem to constitute the bulk of an Irish hoard. Nearly all show areas of purple-black staining on both faces and some have distinctly pitted surfaces as is the case when silver is strongly attacked by soil acids. On the whole, the earlier Elizabethan pieces reveal more wear than the later coins, while some of the Jacobean shillings and sixpences are comparatively fresh, suggesting that the money was assembled over a short period in the early seventeenth century from coins in current use. The deposit cannot have been made much before the end of 1608 and may have been somewhat later.

In 1607, the English shilling was ordered to pass for sixteen pence, so that the value of the coins would have passed in Ireland for £4. 17s. 8d., counting the five Irish pieces at their face value.¹ The English equivalent, reckoning the Irish shillings at the value of 9d. each, would have amounted to £3. 13s. 3d. The combined weight of the coins is now 13 oz. 14 dwts. 15 grs., showing a loss of 443 grain per penny, averaged on the theoretical total at the various standard weights. This is due more to wear and deterioration through burial than to any appreciable clipping, although a few may have had their edges very slightly trimmed. It should be noted that none of the base coins of Elizabeth are included in this deposit.

It is perhaps injudicious to associate this concealment with any definite historical event. We know from the same order by the Lord Deputy and Council² that permission was given for the circulation of English money in Ireland (forbidden

under Elizabeth) at the rate quoted. A few other parcels of coins dating from early Stuart times are known from Ireland, although both Elizabethan³ and Civil War hoards⁴ are much commoner, as might be expected. In 1850 sixty-one coins of Elizabeth I and James I were found in Co. Armagh⁵ and in 1855 a few ounces of silver of Elizabeth I and James were discovered in Co. Antrim⁶. Another find, published more recently, is that from Ellistown, Co. Kildare, in 1945 and now in the National Museum, Dublin.⁷ A record of 1853 claims that forty-two ounces of English and Spanish silver coins dating to about 1605 were found at Doneraile, Co. Cork.⁸

ENGLAND

(For coins of Edward VI, Philip and Mary see first paragraph).

Elizabeth I (1558-1603)

Shillings: crosslet (8); martlet (2); bell (4); A (5); escallop (5); hand (3); tun (2); woolpack, two appear to have i.m. resembling tun on rev. (4); key (1); 2 (1).

35

Sixpences: pheon, 1561 (3); 1563 over 2 (1); porteullis, 1566 (1); coronet, 1567 (1); 1568 (2); 1568 over 7 (1); 1569 (4); castle, 1571 (1); ermine, 1572 (1); 1573, (2); eglantine, 1574 (1); 1575 (2); obv. Greek cross and pellet, rev. Greek cross over eglantine, 1578 over 7 (1); Greek cross, 1578 (2); 1579 (2); obv. Latin cross, rev. Latin over Greek cross, 1580 over 79 (1); sword, 1582 (2); bell, 1583 (1); ? date (1); A, 1584 (2); crescent, 1587 (2); tun, 1593 (3).

37

James I (1603-1625)

Shillings: 1st coinage, 2nd bust, thistle (3); 2nd bust, lis (1); 2nd coinage, 3rd bust, lis (2); 3rd bust, rose (2); 4th bust, rose (2); 4th bust, escallop (1); coronet (1); 5th bust, coronet (2).

14

86

¹ Simon, *Essay on Irish Coins* (1810 edit.), p. 110, Appendix no. XXIX. An Order by the Lord Deputy and Council, 5 Jac. I Rolls Office.

² Ibid.

³ I. D. Brown, *BNJ* XXVIII (1955-7), pp. 593-4, *inter alia*; W. A. Seaby, *BNJ*, XXX, pt. II (1961), p. 331.

⁴ W. A. Seaby, *BNJ*, XXIX (1958-9), pp. 404-414; R. H. M. Dolley, *UJA*, 3rd ser. XXVIII

(forthcoming).

⁵ James Carruthers, *JRSAL*, IV (1856-7) p. 49.

⁶ James Carruthers, *UJA* I (1853), p. 166.

⁷ C. E. Blunt, *BNJ*, XXVII (1952-4) p. 214;

I. D. Brown, *BNJ*, XXVIII (1955-7) p. 595, No. 46.

⁸ E. Hoare, *NC*, 1st ser. XVI (1854), p. 96;

I. D. Brown, *BNJ*, XXVIII (1955-7), p. 594, No. 36.

ENGLAND (<i>cont.</i>)	<i>brought forward</i>	86
<i>Sixpences</i> : 1st coinage, 2nd bust, thistle, 1604 (2); third bust, lis (1); 2nd coinage, 4th bust, coronet, 1607 (1).		4
		—
		90
IRELAND		
<i>James I</i> (1603–1625)		
<i>Shillings</i> : 1st coinage, 1st bust, bell (2); 2nd bust, martlet (1); 2nd coinage, 3rd bust, rose (1); 3rd bust, escallop (1).		5
		—
	Total	95
		—
	W. A. SEABY	

A NOTE ON THE BELFAST ISSUERS OF TWO OF THE ADVERTISEMENT IMITATIONS OF 'SPADE' GUINEAS

On p. 160 *supra*, Mr. R. N. P. Hawkins has recorded details of two apparently unpublished varieties (nos. 203 and 204 in his listing) of 'spade' guinea imitations put out by Belfast tradesmen as part as their advertising. The pieces in question were

communicated to him by the present writer on the basis of specimens in the Ulster Museum, though it was an example in a private collection which touched off my interest in the first place. A word here may not be out of place concerning the identity of the issuers, and particularly since the date of issue is now pinpointed in a fashion that Mr. Hawkins must find eminently gratifying inasmuch as he had already suggested that the only really certain band for the use of his obverse die 6, a die shared by both the Belfast pieces, is provided by piece no. 18 in his original listing (*BNJ* XXXII (1963), pp. 174–219), with its advertisement for the ephemeral St. Philip's Road branch of the still extant Sheffield grocery business founded by Joseph Pollard. As Mr. Hawkins has shown, this use of the obverse die cannot well have occurred before 1888 or after 1894, and a parallel piece from Newcastle-under-Lyme (no. 19 in the 1963 listing) suggests a *terminus ante quem* of 1892.

The Belfast specimens are here illustrated by enlargements of photographs very kindly supplied by the authorities of the Ulster Museum. It will be seen that they have a number of features in common quite apart from the shared obverse die, and in particular we may note the continuance of the reverse legend in a shallow arc above the



shield, and the omission of the inescutcheon from the royal coat of arms. Both these features are characteristic of the closely dated Sheffield and Newcastle-under-Lyme pieces of which mention has already been made. They are also to be found in the case of another piece, again from the same obverse die, which cannot be dated with the same precision, the ticket put out by the London stationers Parkins & Gotto (no. 17 in the 1963 listing). To the best of my admittedly limited knowledge they are features that do not occur elsewhere in the series, and my suspicion is that they indicate a particular phase of activity in the case of a single maker.

To take first the piece put out by Erskine of North Street, the identity of the issuer cannot be in doubt. However we interpret the main element of the reverse legend—probably it is an exhortation for Ireland to wear the firm's products, and not a trade-name 'Ireland Wear' branding the same—the reference must be to a manufacturer or vendor of headwear with premises in North Street, an important thoroughfare on the northern perimeter of the centre of Belfast. Street-directories exist for Belfast for odd years up to and including 1880, and thereafter for 1884, 1887, 1890, 1892, 1894 and thence onwards for every year until the present, with the single exception of 1921. In the 1880 directory there is no Erskine connected with headwear, and no Patterson described as a baker. In 1884, on the other hand, we find a John Erskine in business as a Hat and Cap Manufacturer and Importer at 92 & 94 North Street, and classified as such under 'Cap' but not 'Hat'. He has also taken up residence in Belfast, the address being 2 Pacific Avenue in the then outer suburb of Clifton, rather less than a mile out from North Street along the Antrim Road. Perhaps significantly an Archibald Patterson now appears on the scene also with a Clifton address, but the problems which he presents are best discussed in a later paragraph.

To revert to John Erskine, in 1887 he is described as a Military Hatter, Contractor, Hat and Cap Maker and Importer, though still classified only under 'Cap', and it is only with the 1890 directory that he appears in the classified section under 'Hatter', a classification general for the rest of his career. In 1890, too, the address of the firm embraces four numbers in North Street, nos. 84 and 86, vacant in 1887, being added. By 1892, however, nos. 92 and 94 had been abandoned, and for the rest of its existence the firm's premises were confined to nos. 84 and 86. In 1896 the business is wrongly named 'Jas. Erskine' in the street portion of the directory, and this doubtless reflects the growing interest in the firm of James Erskine, presumably a

son, who resides at 2 Pacific Avenue, while John Erskine has apparently built for himself a country residence several miles further up the Antrim Road at Whitewell, Carnmoney. Appropriately enough the name of this house is 'Hatfield', though there is no evidence to show that the choice alluded to the source of the family's comparative affluence.

As late as 1909 James Erskine was still residing at Pacific Avenue, but in 1910 John Erskine no longer appeared in the directory, and the occupier of 'Hatfield' was now James Erskine. It would seem likely that the father (?) had died in 1909, a quarter of a century after setting up in business in Belfast, and that the son (?) lost no time in moving out to the outskirts of the fast-expanding city. As we have seen, there is some evidence that the younger man was playing an increasingly important role in the family business, and there is a hint that Pacific Avenue was no longer an address consistent with business success. In the 1910 directory the occupier of 2 Pacific Avenue is described as a 'breadserver', *anglice* a baker's roundsman and many of the houses were vacant. The whole character of Clifton was changing, and James Erskine may be supposed to have regarded a move to Carnmoney as long overdue. The business continued at North Street, but did not survive the Great War. It figures in the 1916 directory, but not in that for 1917. James Erskine, on the other hand, appears not to have been financially embarrassed by the winding-up of the business, and he continued to reside at 'Hatfield' until 1923, when he disappears from the Belfast scene, and the house at Carnmoney is listed in the 1924 directory under a new occupier.

Theoretically, then, the chronological limits for the Erskine of North Street advertisement 'spade' guinea are 1880–1916—the reference to 'hats' fortunately enables us to leave out of consideration another Erskine of North Street in quite another line of business. It will be seen, though, that the years immediately before 1890 represent the apogee of the firm's development when for a short time the firm's manufactory occupied two pairs of premises in close proximity to one another, and the opening of the extension after 1887 and before 1890 would be an obvious occasion for intensified advertising of the firm's products.

Between 1880 and 1916 there is only one occasion when the classified section of the Belfast directory includes a baker trading under the name of Patterson. This is the year 1890 when an Archibald Patterson appears with premises at 20 Avoca Street, a Clifton address. In 1884, it will be remembered, an Archibald Patterson had figured as a baker in the street section of the directory,

but usage in later years is conclusive that bakers who do not appear as such in the classified section are to be regarded as journeymen bakers, craftsmen in the employ of others, and not as proprietors of their own businesses. In 1884 Archibald Patterson resided at 20 Cabul Street, apparently in a house that had just been built, but in 1887 the occupier was a Jane Ferguson, and in 1890 a Mrs. Isabella Gourley who continued to reside there after the street-name was altered to Manor Street in 1891 or 1892. Neither lady is described as being in business, and clearly the character of the property was purely residential. The reason for change of the street-name was probably because of confusion with Cable Street, a somewhat less prepossessing thoroughfare in Ballymacarrett two miles away on the other side of the Lagan. In the 1887 directory Archibald Patterson does not figure at all, presumably because he was not a householder at the time of the canvass, and it is in 1890 that he enjoys his brief moment of glory, listed as a baker in the classified section of the directory with an address, as we have seen, in Avoca Street, a short walk from John Erskine's residence at Pacific Street. There is no doubt, incidentally, that 20 Avoca Street was in use as business premises. In 1880 the plot seems to have been undeveloped, but in 1884 the occupier was one Henry Baxter described as a gasfitter. By 1887 he had risen to be a foreman gasfitter at the same address, and on vacating the premises to Archibald Patterson moved in quick succession to Canning Street by York Road Station (1890), and Duncairn Gardens back in Clifton proper (1892), before establishing his business, now more that of a plumber, at Kinnauld Street in the same vicinity (1894). In the 1892 directory, too, and continuously thereafter, the occupant of 20 Avoca Street is a tailor, one Henry Parkhill.

Before 1890 Archibald Patterson is the only Patterson to be described as a baker, but between 1890 and 1900 there are a number of Pattersons who come into this category, but only as journeymen, it would seem, for their inclusion is spasmodic, their changes of address frequent, and their failure to make the classified section total. In 1890, for example, an R. Patterson described as a baker resides at 9 Welland Street, while in 1892, a T. Patterson of the same trade is the occupier of 28 Witham Street. Both addresses are on the eastern outskirts of Ballymacarrett. In 1894 the bakers of this name are a J. Patterson at another number in Welland Street, and Archibald Patterson who reappears after his absence from the 1892 directory at a new Clifton address, 189 Upper Meadow Street, but apparently in a purely residential capacity. In 1895 J. Patterson, presumably from nearby

Welland Street, opens up as a confectioner, but not as a baker, in Ballymacarrett on the Newtownards Road. A certain S. Patterson appears for the first time at 147 Vernon Street, in Cromac off the Ormeau Road, on the other side of the city-centre from Clifton, and a few doors up at no. 189 we find that Archibald Patterson also is occupying residential premises. By 1896 S. Patterson has moved to Cairo Street down towards the Ormeau Bridge, and it is at an address in nearby Palestine Street that Archibald Patterson, journeyman baker and former proprietor of an ill-fortuned business on his own account, makes his last appearance in the war years. The relationships between all these baker Pattersons cannot now be worked out, but there is no reason to think that any of the above-named were connected with the T. K. Patterson family which towards the very end of the nineteenth century founded a limited company on the Lisburn Road which is still extant as a subsidiary of one of the big combines. From the very first, however, this had traded as the Windsor Bakery, and there is no possibility that it issued the 'spade' guinea discussed in this note.

From the above it emerges pretty clearly that the Patterson of the advertisement ticket is Archibald Patterson of 20 Avoca Street, and that the limits for its striking are 1888-1891. The address is one in Clifton, and there is a Clifton connection with the issuer of the other Belfast 'spade' guinea from the same obverse die, and we have seen that 1888 or 1889 would be a very plausible issue-date for the North Street ticket. In England the same obverse die produces advertisements for firms which are at the relevant address between 1888 and 1894 in the one case, and from c. 1880 until 1892 in the other, and there is no inconsistency with the much wider bracket provided by the activities of the London firm of Parkins & Gotto. The evidence from Penn Fields and the Brimington Union argues for a date as little after 1887 as possible, and my own view is that the Belfast advertisements were ordered from the same Birmingham maker on the same occasion, the more likely date being 1888 when in England the Sheffield grocery was opening its branch premises. Unfortunately there seems still no way of deciding finally whether the Birmingham firm was Brookes & Adams or Iliffe & Gardner, and this question remains open. It only remains for me to thank Mr. Hawkins, Mr. Wilfred Seaby, F.S.A., and Mr. Noel Nesbitt of the Ulster Museum, and the authorities of the Central Library in Belfast for the facilities that made possible the writing of this note.

R. H. M. DOLLEY

THE ATHERSTONE HOARD OF 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY COINS

On 2nd April 1964 two schoolboys playing in a derelict cottage at 72 Coleshill Road, Atherstone, Warwickshire noticed a tin box in a hole in the ceiling of a downstairs room. They removed the box and finding it contained money took it to the police. The police then visited the cottage and recovered a second box of notes and coins.

At an inquest held in Coventry on 20th April 1964 a verdict of treasure trove was returned. This verdict was subsequently proved to be incorrect and the hoard became the property of the heir of its original owners. The British Museum was however given the opportunity to examine the gold and silver coins (the notes and bronze coins were not then available). The Museum purchased one Sydney sovereign of 1899 from the owner who sold the remainder to the trade.

The complete hoard represented a face value sum of £174 7s. 0½d. The series closed with seven coins of 1928 which were scarcely worn. Much of the Victorian silver was in exceedingly poor condition and even the most recent of the gold coins were circulated specimens. One sovereign of 1862 was a cast forgery weighing 102.6 grains. A 1916 sixpence was engraved in the reverse in three lines. 19 17/Feb 27th/G & E.

No.	Date	Die	Spink*
18-20	1892	—	552
21-23	1893	—	553
24-25	1894	—	554
26-28	1896	—	556
29	1898	—	557
30-31	1900	—	559
32	1910	—	629

*Australian:**Melbourne:*

33	1874	George
34-35	1875	"
36-37	1879	"
38	1881	"
39	1884	Shield
40	1884	George
41-42	1885	George
43	1887	
44	1889	
45	1890	
46-48	1891	
49-51	1892	
52	1893	
53-54	1894	
55	1896	

ATHERSTONE HOARD

Not examined by the British Museum:

Perth:

56	1901
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TREASURY NOTES	£1	39
	10s.	11
BRONZE COINS:	1d.	6
	½d.	12
	¼d.	3

Sydney:

57	1873	Shield
58-59	1878	"
60	1887	"
61	1889	
62	1890	
63	1892	
64	1893	
65	1894	
66	1899	

ATHERSTONE HOARD

SOVEREIGNS:

British:

No.	Date	Die	Spink*
1	1847	—	508
2	1852	—	513
3	1861	—	522
4	1862	—	523
5	1866	6	527
6	1869	42	529
7-9	1876	—	539
10	1880	—	542
11	1888	—	548
12-13	1889	—	549
14-16	1890	—	550
17	1891	—	551

Forgery:

67	1862
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HALF SOVEREIGNS:

68	1860	—	582
69	1863	—	584
70-72	1865	20, 40, 48	586
73-4	1869	8, 16	589
75-6	1871	61, 63	591
77	1872	293	592
78	1874	23	594

* 'Spink' denotes the appropriate number in *The Milled Coinage of England, 1662-1946*. Spink & Son

Ltd., London, 1950.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Die</i>	<i>Spink*</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Die</i>	<i>Spink*</i>
79-81	1876	49(2), 69	596	195	1919	—	1562
82-3	1877	71, 103	597	196-200	1920	—	1563
84-5	1878	36, 40	598	201-5	1921	—	1564
86	1880	104	600	206-12	1922	—	1565
87	1883	—	601	213-22	1923	—	1566
88-93	1885	—	603	223-7	1924	—	1567
94	1887	—	605	238	1927	—	1571
95-6	1890	—	608	229-31	1928	—	1573
97-113	1892	—	610				
114-122	1893	—	611	FLORINS			
123-4	1894	—	613	232	1864	34	1241
125-8	1895	—	614	233	1866	20	1244
129-130	1896	—	615	234-6	1872	97, 145, 274	1251
131-2	1897	—	616	237-8	1873	23, 247	1252
133	1898	—	617	239	1881	—	1264
134-39	1899	—	618	240-41	1885	—	1267
140-2	1900	—	619	242	1886	—	1268
143-4	1903	—	631	243	18//	—	Young Head
145	1904	—	632	244	1889	—	1273
146	1909	—	637	245	1896	—	1280
				246	1898	—	1282
				247-8	1900	—	1284
CROWNS:				249	1906	—	1514
147	1889	—	1161	249	1906	—	1514
148	1890	—	1162	250-1	1907	—	1515
149	1896	—	1170	252	1909	—	1517
				253	190/	—	Edward VII
HALF CROWNS:				254	1918	—	1588
150	1876	—	1198	255	1919	—	1589
151	1879	—	1201	256-60	1920	—	1590
152	1880	—	1202	261-3	1921	—	1591
153	1883	—	1205	264-70	1922	—	1592
154	1884	—	1206	271-6	1923	—	1593
155	1885	—	1207	277-8	1924	—	1594
156	188/	—	Young Head	279	1925	—	1595
157-8	1888	—	1211	280	1926	—	1596
159-60	1889	—	1212	281	1928	—	1599
161-3	1890	—	1213				
164-5	1891	—	1214				
166	1892	—	1215	SHILLINGS:			
167	1894	—	1217	282	1870	20	1320
168	1896	—	1219	283	1872	4	1322
169	1897	—	1220	284	1877	15	1327
170	1898	—	1221	285-6	1880	—	1331
171-2	1899	—	1222	287	1881	—	1332
173	1900	—	1223	288	1882	—	1333
174	1902	—	1501	289	1883	—	1334
175	1906	—	1505	290	18//	—	Young Head
176-7	1907	—	1506	291-2	1887	—	1339
178-9	1910	—	1509	293	1889	—	1342
180	1911	—	1554	294	1890	—	1343
181-2	1914	—	1557	295	1892	—	1345
183-7	1915	—	1558	296	1895	—	1348
188-92	1916	—	1559	297-8	1896	—	1349
193	1917	—	1560	299	1897	—	1350
194	1918	—	1561	300	1900	—	1353

No.	Date	Die	Spink	No.	Date	Die	Spink
301	1902	—	1519	352-3	1897	—	1421
302	1905	—	1522	354	1898	—	1422
303	1907	—	1524	355	1901	—	1425
304-5	1911	—	1606	356	1902	—	1528
306-7	1912	—	1607	357	1906	—	1532
308-10	1914	—	1609	358	1909	—	1535
311-12	1915	—	1610	359-60	1910	—	1536
313	1916	—	1611	361	1911	—	1633
314	1917	—	1612	362	1914	—	1636
315-19	1918	—	1613	363	1915	—	1637
320	1919	—	1614	364	1916	—	1638 engraved
321-5	1920	—	1615	365-9	1918	—	1640
326-8	1921	—	1616	370-1	1920	—	1642
329-33	1922	—	1617	372-4	1921	—	1643
334-5	1923	—	1618	375-7	1922	—	1644
336-7	1924	—	1619	378-80	1923	—	1645
338	1925	—	1620	381-2	1924	—	1646
339-40	1926	—	1621/2	383-5	1926	—	1648
341-2	1927	—	1624	386	1927	—	1650
343-5	1928	—	1625				
343-5	1928	—	1625				
				THREEPENCES:			
				387	1885	—	1481
				388	18//	—	Young Head
SIXPENCES:				389	1888	—	1485
346	18//	—	Young Head	390	1905	—	1540
347	1888	—	1411	391	1916	—	1665
348	1890	—	1413	392	1920	—	1669
349	1892	—	1415 holed				
350	1895	—	1419				
351	1896	—	1420				

M. M. ARCHIBALD

THE BENENDEN HOARD OF 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY GOLD COINS

THE hoard was found on 13th August 1964 under the brick floor of a downstairs room at 2, Stream Cottages, Benenden, Kent, by Frank and Keith Rivers who were carrying out repairs. After the coins had been declared treasure trove at an inquest held at Benenden on 14th September 1964 they were sent to the British Museum for examination. There were eighty four sovereigns and forty nine half-sovereigns dated between 1847 and 1912. Thirty five (i.e. over 41%) of the sovereigns had been struck at Australian mints. Although the finders had not noticed any container, the coins were encrusted with a deposit of ferrous oxide which suggested that they had been kept in a metal box. The condition of the coins was generally good; few even of the earlier Young Head coins were more than a little worn and the closing coins of George V were in almost mint state. The British Museum purchased coin No. 129 in the list below and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Nos 1, 8, 9,

13, 16, 96, 99, 100, 102, 103, 104, 105, 107, 108, 112, 113, 114, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 126, 127, 128, 130, 132 and 133. The remaining coins were disposed of to the trade and the amount obtained from the sale of all the coins was paid in full to the finders.

BENENDEN HOARD

BENENDEN HOARD

No	Date	Spink*	Die
SOVEREIGNS			
1-2	1847	508	—
3-4	1861	522	—
5-6	1863	524	—
7	1864	525	81
8	1868	528	27
9	1869	529	57
10	1872	534	—
11-12	1873	536	—

* 'Spink' denotes the appropriate number in *The Milled Coinage of England, 1662-1946*. Spink & Son

Ltd., London, 1950.

<i>No</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Spink*</i>	<i>Die</i>	AUSTRALIAN SOVEREIGNS			
13-14	1888	548	—	<i>Melbourne:</i>			
15	1889	549	—	<i>No</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Spink*</i>	<i>Die</i>
16	1891	551	—	99	1875	—	George
17-19	1892	552	—	100	1881	—	„
20-21	1893	553	—	101	1882	—	„
22	1894	554	—	102	1885	—	„
23	1895	555	—	103	1886	—	„
24-26	1898	557	—	104	1888	—	—
27-29	1899	558	—	105	1890	—	—
30-31	1900	559	—	106	1891	—	—
32	1901	560	—	107	1892	—	—
33-34	1902	621	—	108	1893	—	—
35-39	1903	622	—	109-111	1894	—	—
40-41	1904	623	—	112	1896	—	—
42	1905	624	—	113	1898	—	—
43-44	1907	626	—	114-115	1900	—	—
45	1908	627	—	116	1902	—	—
46-47	1910	629	—	117	1904	—	—
48	1911	647	—	118	1905	—	—
49	1912	648	—	<i>Perth:</i>			
HALF SOVEREIGNS				119	1901	—	—
50	1883	601	—	120	1902	—	—
51-54	1892	610	—	121	1903	—	—
55-56	1893	612	—	122	1904	—	—
57-58	1894	613	—	123-124	1906	—	—
59-61	1895	614	—	<i>Sydney:</i>			
62	1896	615	—	125	1871	—	George
63-65	1897	616	—	126	1876	—	„
66	1898	617	—	127	1877	—	Shield
67	1899	618	—	128	1879	—	„
68-73	1900	619	—	129	1882	—	George
74	1901	620	—	130-131	1889	—	—
75	1902	630	—	132	1892	—	—
76	1903	631	—	133	1895	—	—
77	1904	632	—				
78-81	1906	634	—				
82-84	1907	635	—				
85-89	1908	636	—				
90-91	1909	637	—				
92-95	1910	638	—				
96-98	1911	647	—				

M. M. ARCHIBALD

REVIEWS

Karolingische Münzfunde der Frühzeit (751-800). Pippin, Karlmann, Karl der Grosse (I. und II, Münzperiode), by HANS HERMANN VÖLCKERS. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philol.-hist. Kl. III. Folge, nr. 61. Göttingen, 1965. Pp. 217, tables A-R.

DR. VÖLCKERS is the first scholar to publish a comprehensive inventory of Carolingian coin finds since Gariel issued his *Les monnaies royales de France sous la race carolingienne* eighty years ago. The exacting demands which numismatists and historians have come to place on hoard evidence in the last twenty years required a new compendium of find data, and Dr. Völckers is to be congratulated on meeting those demands, at least as far as they relate to the earliest Carolingian period, with his meticulous survey.

The body of material inventoried is indeed large. Dr. Völckers has sixty-two find entries in his table of contents, but this is only a modest indication of his true scope. In fact, he describes fifteen deposits containing more than ten coins, seven containing ten or fewer, and 451 single finds. Of the latter, 162 are catalogued in the entry for Domburg and 203 in that for Dorestadt; the others have their discrete entries. Within its chronological limits, Dr. Völckers's study is more comprehensive than the corresponding section of Gariel's work: leaving out of account the Domburg and Dorestadt finds and the deposits unearthed after the publication of *Monnaies royales* (of which Dr. Völckers discusses about 27), eighteen finds not mentioned by Gariel appear in the volume under review. Of another (Sarzana), Gariel's account was garbled. Dr. Völckers also discusses the Verjrmöllebanken deposit, which does not appear in *Monnaies royales*, but some specialists may judge that the case for including mention of that find is tenuous. Aside from these twenty deposits, Dr. Völckers has had the advantage over Gariel of eighty years in which some of the most critical deposits in Carolingian numismatics have been discovered—Krinkberg, Ilanz II, and the lost Biebrich find, to mention only three.

In the comprehensiveness of his catalogue, in the care with which he has studied relevant scholarly writings, in his efforts to trace hoard coins and to publish new photographs of them together with their weights, Dr. Völckers has composed an

admirable work. And yet, it is a work of idiosyncracies which inspire some reserve. The first of these is that Dr. Völckers has unsystematically exceeded the stated limits of his study.

Thirteen deposits and a preponderance of the Domburg and Dorestadt finds are later than the year 800. Dr. Völckers has carefully registered the contents of these deposits, without entering for the post-800 issues the detailed catalogue references and descriptions of hoard coins and related pieces which give special value to his analyses of earlier deposits.

In this regard the reviewer is unclear why Dr. Völckers, having in fact included deposits from the reign of Louis the Pious, and even from the tenth century, chose to exclude deposits containing the last (imperial) types of Charlemagne from his survey. They are not numerous, and the inclusion of deposits which, like that of Achlum, contained imperial types of Charlemagne, would have accorded with the actual chronological limits of the survey and would at the same time have provided a complete inventory of find data concerning Charlemagne's issues.

If the treatment of post-800 finds is uneven, it is still more regrettable that the deposits of Bondeno, Dorestadt (1845/6), and St. Alban's which consisted principally or entirely of Charlemagne's royal issues (pre-800), have not been specifically mentioned. The Bondeno deposit, which contained several thousand coins, was dispersed before it could be thoroughly analyzed, but some mint cities represented in it are known. The St. Alban's find, published in this *Journal* in 1958, was but a stray coin of Charlemagne. The omission of the Dorestadt find, however, is difficult to understand, especially as Dr. Völckers consulted the essay of De Coster which reports it, and, indeed, entered in his catalogue of finds most of the coins it contained. Despite De Coster's testimony that the 48 coins in the deposit comprised one hoard, Dr. Völckers has inventoried 46 of them as though they were single finds from Dorestadt; and although De Coster registered quite satisfactory descriptions of the pieces, Dr. Völckers says explicitly in three cases (III, 35, 44, 72) that full descriptions are lacking, and neglects in most other instances to render the details warranted by De Coster's account. Furthermore, he has omitted entries for two of the find pieces (Charlemagne, issues of Pavia and Milan).

Three other inadvertent lapses may be mentioned. The less important concern deposits at Böbingen and Worms. English numismatists, who have rightly grown wary of 'garden hoards', will perhaps put a caveat against Böbingen; and the very miscellaneous Worms deposit (XXXIII) strongly suggests confusion of coins from at least two separate finds. The third slip concerns the Sarzana find. Though Dr. Völckers rightly observes that Gariel's account of the deposit contains four pieces not included in the authentic analysis of the hoard, which mentions only 12 coins, Dr. Völckers himself has augmented the deposit with one piece (XXVI, 3) not justified by the contemporary description of the find, apparently not observing that, if the actual deposit consisted of four pieces fewer than Gariel inventoried, it should have contained twelve coins. In much the same fashion, Dr. Völckers has added XXIII, 8 to the Jelsum find on quite tenuous evidence.

It may be added parenthetically that work published in this *Journal* by Mr. Dolley and me subsequent to the time Dr. Völckers's book went to press has shown that his find LII ('unbekannter Ort in England') is the Middle Temple Find, and that his deposit LX ('Penard') is actually Gower. On another level, Dr. Völckers has also gone beyond the thematic limits of his catalogue. He has inserted, in his descriptions of several finds, digressions on economic history, political thought, metrology, and typology, which are neither mere resumé of undisputed theories, nor full expositions of new interpretations. The tendency to accept the stray coin as evidence of regular and sustained commercial relations, and the inclination to read a doctrine of hierocratic kingship even into straightforward, secular artifacts of the Carolingians, have been discredited for some time, and it is strange to find them revived here. Some excursions are sheer romanticizing: an example is the passage in which the author wonders, by turns, whether the Imphy deposit were buried by a Frisian merchant, a Saxon landholder, 'vielleicht ein begüterter Pöschendorfer', or a Frankish warrior. The tendency to recreate becomes rather more misleading, however, when Dr. Völckers, having written that all but 49 of the ca. 4,000 coins found at Biebrich were irretrievably lost before being studied, concludes that the preponderance of the deposit was Italian. There is also a pleasant digression in honor of the hypothetical, but omnipresent, Frisian merchant, whom disaster engulfed at Biebrich.

Imagination further had a part in the reconstruction of some deposits, such as that of 'Gelderland', and in the definite attribution of coins bearing

uncertain legends to mint cities. But, in these instances, Dr. Völckers' suppositions are highly educated hypotheses, and the reviewer regrets only that they are often not clearly identified as plausible instead of certain.

The excursions on metrology and typology inspire particular reserve, the former, because they are unsubstantiated by data statistically adequate in volume, and further because such coins as were available for his study were so severely damaged as to be unsatisfactory for metrological research. The various classifications of 'types' involve variants, rather than types, and they concern particularly the coins found at Imphy, at Sarzana, and on Krinkberg, with only the barest cross-referencing among the three discussions. The reviewer found the discussion of the 'neutrale' Gepräge of Pippin and his sons, unearthed at Imphy, rather overblown, and the discussion of types in the Krinkberg deposit indeed novel. Dr. Völckers' comments on Krinkberg typology deal entirely with variants of one type of Charlemagne's primitive Dorestadt issues, and his purpose is to disprove Nöbbe's position that a large proportion of the Krinkberg pieces were nordic imitations of Charlemagne's type. Dr. Völckers maintains that the coins in question were actually Frisian issues for the Holstein trade, struck illegally, without the approval—indeed, in defiance—of the Carolingian authorities. Historians may well wonder whether Frisia preserved in the reign of Charlemagne sufficient autonomy to undertake such flagrant and, apparently, protracted flaunting of the royal authority; and numismatists must judge the plausibility of the argument that the gross and deformed variants in question were of a 'type immobilisé' in a clandestine, but still semi-official, issue. In any case, Dr. Völckers has produced apparent inconsistency and distorted the analysis of the deposit by counting such mintage among Charlemagne's own issues, and in spreading them upon the plates as official mintage at the the same time he argued that Charlemagne would have wished to stamp them out.

Some specialists will perhaps regret that Dr. Völckers chose to arrange his plates according to type, thus scattering the illustrations of any find over several pages, but the concordance between the plates and the two sections of the work concerned with analysis of the deposits has been made possible by a third section of the text which lists mint cities, the finds in which they are represented, and the relevant plates. On balance the plates are very good. Though they do not provoke serious reservations, one would still like to know by what principle some pieces which are apparently available

for study were illustrated by century-old line engravings. Why, for example, are all the pieces of the Bel-Air deposit illustrated by recent photographs except the coins of Le Mans and Dinant, which are represented by drawings published in 1856? Still, Dr. Völckers has earned sincere thanks for illustrating many coins formerly known through line engravings with clear and exact photographs, and for publishing photographs of some coins not hitherto illustrated.

In so highly systemized a work, some inexactitude in detail inevitably occurs. Aside from very infrequent typographical errors, one may mention, for example, the neglect to account for coins nos. 28, 40, and 41 in the general account of Imphy (this defect is remedied in the catalogue of the find), and some erroneous references to Gariel.

Minor lapses like these, and even weightier blemishes such as those we have noted, do not obscure the magnitude or the usefulness of Dr. Völckers' exacting work. The digressions savor of the romance which adorned scholarship in another age. Yet, the catalogue and the plates have brought to light in a highly systematic way, fully consonant with the demands of twentieth-century scholarship, new type variants and important syntheses of data, best represented by Dr. Völckers' masterly account of the Biebrich remains; and they thus place all students of Carolingian numismatics and history under a heavy obligation to the author.

K. F. M.

Viking Coins of the Danclaw and of Dublin, by MICHAEL DOLLEY. Published by the Trustees of the British Museum, 1965. Price 5s.

IN this short pamphlet Mr. Dolley surveys the present state of our knowledge about the Viking coinages of Britain. Numismatists will be glad to have this brief statement of his views, some of which will be more fully presented in the forthcoming *Sylloge* of Hiberno-Norse coins in the British Museum. The emphasis in this pamphlet is, however, less on numismatic minutiae than on the historical background and on the contribution these coins can make to our understanding of Scandinavian Britain. There is no field in which numismatic evidence is more important for the historian and this summary of recent work is most welcome. The plates illustrate 51 coins but the quality of reproduction is in many cases well below the standard that should be set by the British Museum, even in such an inexpensive publication. The suggestions for further reading include all the

main numismatic publications on the subject that need to be consulted, but could profitably have been enlarged on the historical side. In the absence of an Irish equivalent of Professor Whitelock's *English Historical Documents*, students will find A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History, A.D. 500-1286*, a very useful guide to the bewildering complexities and chronological confusions of the Irish sources. Attention might also have been drawn to A. L. Binns' imaginative account of *The Viking Century in East Yorkshire* (East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1963).

At the beginning of his essay Mr. Dolley discusses the changing pattern in the distribution of coin hoards and illustrates this by the hoards deposited in two decades, c. 865-875 and c. 970-980. In the first there are no hoards in Ireland or the Scottish Isles but there were no fewer than eighteen from eastern and southern England, 'an eloquent commentary on the devastation occasioned by the onslaught of the Danish armies . . .'. In the later period the area round the Irish Sea has yielded twenty hoards while from England east of the Pennines there are only two, and one of these consisted of two coins. Mr. Dolley argues that these hoards 'mirror the contrast between the disorder of the Hiberno-Norse world in the heyday of Maelsechlainn and of Anlaf Quaran and the calm progress of the Anglo-Danish rapprochement which culminated in the reign of Eadgar the Peaceful'.

Some readers may conclude that the western parts of Britain were less troubled than England by raiders in the decade 865-875 but, as Mr. Dolley later explains, neither the Irish nor their invaders had or used coin in the ninth century and the absence of hoards certainly does not indicate peaceful conditions. The scarcity of hoards in England in the decade 970-980 may be a tribute to the achievements of King Edgar, but we should not forget that England has produced remarkably few hoards for the whole of Ethelred's reign. The most authoritative list at present available (*Anglo-Saxon Coins*, ed. R. H. M. Dolley, pp. 163-65) gives only eight hoards for the whole period from 980-1016, and for the last ten years of Ethelred's reign, certainly a time of Danish onslaughts and of turbulence, the only possible hoard is from St. Martin's-le-Grand in London. The rarity of hoards in such troubled times in a country rich in coined silver should encourage us to think again about the significance of hoards. It may be that in Ethelred's time hoarded wealth was generally recovered by its owners and that we should not too readily assume that the Viking raiders spread death and destruction indiscriminately. It is also possible that many of the

hoards in the western parts of the British Isles were deposited by men who left home, rather than by men who were fearful of attack. This certainly happened in Scandinavia and it may have happened in Scandinavian Britain.

Mr. Dolley has managed to a remarkable extent to overcome the limitations of space and has packed a great deal of information into this short essay. There is, however, one omission that may be particularly regretted. He himself pointed out in *Nordisk Numismatisk Arsskrift* 1957-58, pp. 81-82, that the York moneyers in the period 924-54 and perhaps later show a remarkable continuity despite the frequent changes of régime. Such continuity, together with the similar survival of Archbishop Wulfstan, suggests that these Scandinavian rulers may have had less independent initiative than is sometimes supposed. They may have been little more than tools in the hands of the Northumbrian aristocracy, of both English and Scandinavian descent, an aristocracy that was trying to preserve its independence from the encroaching power of the English kings to the south.

The British Museum and Mr. Dolley are to be congratulated on the production of this most useful guide and gratitude is also due to the Gulbenkian foundation for making it possible. In looking forward to future additions to the series a historian may be pardoned for hoping that we shall not have to wait too long for one devoted to the coins of the Norman kings of England. 1966 would have been a good year for its publication.

P. H. S.

Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles: Grosvenor Museum, Chester. Part I. The Willoughby Gardner Collection of coins with the Chester Mint-signature. By Miss Elizabeth Pirie. Pp. XX + 43, 16 plates. London. Published for the British Academy, 1964. 45/-.

THE fifth fascicule of the *Sylloge* is in concept a variation from its predecessors. The coins struck at one mint, now in the collection of the museum of that mint-town, are described and illustrated. Whilst the collection is important in its own way, it is by no means a complete record of the emissions of the mint. A glance at the tables on pp. 34-36 reveals the many gaps even in the representation of moneyers. It should be noted that the volume is very slender: only 464 coins are included, and a goodly percentage of the pages in the total number of 63 are, in fact, completely blank. It does however break new ground by the inclusion for the first

time of post-conquest issues. The majority, 406, are from the Anglo-Saxon period, but in addition there are 41 Norman, 12 Plantagenet, 3 Stuart and 2 milled coins.

It is to some extent unfortunate that the author was advised to include only coins 'with an unequivocal Chester mint-signature'. The omission of the early unsigned pennies detracts from the overall view that could, perhaps, have otherwise been obtained. Furthermore, the study of the Chester mint cannot be carried out satisfactorily without consideration of the coins from Leicester, whose mint-signature is at some periods so confusingly similar that a number of pennies cannot be definitely assigned to one mint rather than the other except on grounds hardly more precise than personal predilections. Coins attributed to Leicester are not only omitted from this volume, but references to the problem appear to be confined to a foot-note on p. xiii and short notes to nos. 394 and 425.

The main purpose of the *Sylloge* series is to provide a photographic record for the use of students. The standard of the plates in this book is not adequate. A number of the illustrations are not good enough to be used for die-comparison purposes. Direct photography, the method used here, can give very good results, but the standards of the photography itself and of its collotype reproduction must be of the highest order. It is a pity that the *Sylloge* Committee allowed the present printing to be published, which can only be a disappointment to Miss Pirie and tend to bring the series into disrepute. One irritating result of direct photography is that in several instances the book has to be twisted about to overcome an incuse effect. On the other hand the variation in shade of colour of the coins is a not displeasing by-product of direct photography, and is certainly to be preferred to the Copenhagen practice of polishing their coins to a uniform bright silver.

There would have been some advantage in following the example of the *Hunterian & Coats Sylloge* and giving the readings of each specimen, as this is of considerable help to the student. Sir Frank Stenton wrote 'not even the best of plates will answer to the varieties of light and shade which are sometimes necessary to bring out the exact lettering of a badly worn coin'. His remarks have even greater force when the reproduction is poor. Space, and its effects on costs, must always be an important factor when considering whether or not to transcribe legends. However, a very considerable amount of type could have been saved by curtailment of the notes of provenances. Abbreviations could have been used to great advantage, and it is of little

benefit to know that a particular coin was purchased from one of the London dealers on an unknown date.

Miss Pirie has obviously taken great pains over the preparation of this volume. A few minor errors can be found—e.g. p. 34, Eadgar 'Three-line' type, 'Aelfstan' should be in italics—but they are hardly likely to be of any real hindrance to the use of the book. It is accordingly most unfortunate that against her hard work, which merits commendation, must be debited the serious draw-backs in production. One trusts that she will be better served in the subsequent parts of the Chester Museum *Sylloge*.

J. D. B.

GEORG GALSTER, 'Møntfundet fra Kongsø Plantage', *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1962, pp. 54-78.

THIS is a belated but very welcome publication of a significant hoard which came to light some sixty years ago, and one hastens to add that it was received into the National Museum at Copenhagen several years before Dr. Galster's own advent, so that no blame can attach to him that it is only now made available to the student. The treasure was composed, it would seem, of upwards of 650 coins and a few ornaments, and it is particularly interesting to discover that the container, surely larger than a purse?, appears to have been made of leather. In the English summary the figure for the English coins stands at 192, but included in this total are a number of pieces which students in these islands would have no hesitation in dismissing as Scandinavian. Admittedly a number of these in the main text appear as 'afterlingninger', but by no means all, e.g. no. 59 which is actually illustrated, and the reviewer would enter a plea that the proper place for imitative pieces of this description is under 'Danmark'. It is, indeed, only when the pieces are studied in this context that they fit into place, and more than once he has remarked that contemporary imitations of English provenance and manufacture are as rare even in English finds as they are of very different fabric.

The latest of the English coins are a number of pieces of the second issue of Harold I—the Harthacnut cut-farthing is generally recognized this side of the North sea as belonging to the joint reign immediately following the death of Cnut. This is to say that the termination of the English element in the hoard falls not later than 1040, and more than one student will feel that this postulates too long an interval between the arrival in Denmark of

the latest English coins and Dr. Galster's admittedly tentative suggestion for the occasion of the concealment, the great Wendish invasion of Denmark in the summer of 1043. This is not to say that the interval is impossibly long, and the reviewer particularly welcomes Dr. Galster's recognition of the desirability of our attempting to set hoards against the historical background provided by more conventional sources. Perhaps, though, we should have been told why Dr. Galster rejects the accession date accepted by most English historians where Harthacnut's sole reign in England is concerned. The reviewer for one is satisfied that Harold I did not die until 17 March 1040 and that Harthacnut was not recognized as an effective king in England until June, but, in view of the currency these dates have long enjoyed in the pages of this *Journal*, he cannot believe that Dr. Galster would lightly restore 1039, though curiously it is the year that figures in Hildebrand.

An unremarked feature of the find is the very small proportion of early coins where England and Ireland are concerned. Both the Irish coins belong to the second issue of *Long Cross* imitations, the latest grouping normally to be found in a Scandinavian context, and even then notably less common than the preceding issue. Of Æthelræd pennies there are no more than nine, but one wonders why the Derby penny has been selected for illustration. Admittedly it is claimed to read other than the coins in Stockholm, but the illustration at least establishes that the Hildebrand reading of the moneyer's name is correct for this coin as well, and the authority for BLACAMAN is not obvious. Here, too, the student from these islands must make a protest at the continued use of Hildebrand numbers to distinguish legends as opposed to dies. As the sophistication of Anglo-Saxon coinage becomes daily more and more apparent, it is increasingly clear that the Hildebrand number should attach to the coin actually in the trays of the Systematic Collection in Stockholm. In certain circumstances the number may be used of die-duplicates of such a coin, but to employ it of readings is misleading. In this connection it should not be forgotten that recent work has revealed that there are many cases where two coins do have identical readings but are not die-duplicates, and it is hoped that it will be possible in the not too distant future for Mr. Mossop's work on the Lincoln mint to see the light of day and to convince even the most sceptical that there have been some valid discoveries in the field of technique since Hildebrand's pioneer work first brought relative order into what had been virtual chaos.

Dr. Galster's listing of the English element in the hoard gives us in each case the spelling of the moneyer's name, though again there has been an unfortunate tendency to perpetuate Hildebrand's infelicities—cf. forms such as Swileman and Swyrline for Spileman and Spyrline (the modern personal names Spelman and Spurling). In this connection, too, it is impossible to pass over in silence the headings given for each mint. In each case the modern form of the name of the place is given first, though the order is that of the Old English form (e.g. York precedes Gloucester, and Gloucester, Cambridge). There follow in brackets what one must regard as normalizations of the Old English forms, and these seem to be derived in each case from Hildebrand's great work. Generally they seem to essay the inflected case of the locative, but this is not consistent, cf. forms in *-ceaster* beside those in *-byrig*, and certain forms taken only from the coins, it would seem, have a strange flavour, e.g. *Bathan* where *Bathum* would have been unexceptionable if preceded by the appropriate preposition. One could wish that the heading had consisted solely of the modern forms of the name, and it would have added virtually nothing to the expense of printing if the whole of the reverse legend had been transliterated, and especially in those cases where the coin is noted as 'not in Hildebrand', i.e. in the reign of Cnut the *Pointed Helmet* pence of York (Hildor), Lincoln (Aslae) and London (Brunman). In the case of the first two of these, the variation is presumably just in the mint-signature, but with the third one could have wished for more information, and more particularly because of the possibility of the coin being Danish. In the *Short Cross* issue, Sired at Gloucester and Wulfwine at Huntingdon are well-attested moneyers, 'new'—where Hildebrand at least is concerned—only for the type, and this is probably true for the fragmentary *Quatrefoil* coin of Ringulf from Norwich, but it is, as it happens, the Huntingdon coin which alone qualifies for illustration. Among the Harold I coins there appear to be many newcomers, 'Wulfwine' at Canterbury (*Fleur-de-lis*), 'Hvenna' at Exeter (*Jewel Cross*), '(S)tyreol' at York (*Jewel Cross*), 'Lenoth' at Hereford (*Fleur-de-lis*), 'Wulfwine' at Huntingdon (*Fleur-de-lis*), 'Edwinne' at Lewes (*Jewel Cross*), 'Ælfrie', 'Goldsuig' and 'Leofrd' at London (all *Fleur-de-lis*), 'Leofrni' at London (*Jewel Cross*), and 'Sægri(m)' at Nottingham (*Fleur-de-lis*), and 'Blacaman' at Wareham (*Jewel Cross*). A recent note, however, has argued that 'Hvenna' is in fact Huneman, a known Exeter moneyer though not before recorded for this type and reign, while Blaca(ma)n is a well-attested

Derby moneyer in this very issue (*SNC* 1965, p. 154). For the Canterbury, York, Hereford, Huntingdon and two of the three *Fleur-de-lis* coins of London, moreover, the variation seems only to be in the exact spelling of the moneyer's name, while the 'Leofrni' piece could well be Scandinavian, which leaves us with only the Lewes, Nottingham and 'Ælfrie' of London coins as significantly 'new', though in each case Hildebrand records the moneyer in adjacent types, and, as it happens, not one of these rates illustration, which seems a pity. One English coin has been left to last for special mention—is Godd really a Lincoln moneyer in the *Pointed Helmet* type of Cnut? Mr. Mosso's survey will, of course, give us a final answer, but it is probably true to say that most members of the 'new school' would have afforded it less cursory treatment. If it is not a mis-struck coin of London where a moneyer with this exceptional spelling of the name is known in this very type, the coin is one which merits discussion, and above all illustration.

It may be thought that this notice has dwelt too much on what seem to the reviewer imperfections in Dr. Galster's notable latest contribution to our knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon series, but it is because the paper as a whole is so valuable that the present writer finally acceded to a repeated invitation to undertake the task. His introduction to numismatics was to prepare for publication a coin-hoard, and after fifteen years he is even more convinced that the publication of treasure trove—and of other finds—is the most important single duty of the official numismatist. Often the work is boring and may seem without point, but how many numismatists appreciate that it is not a decade since a major gold-hoard from S.E. England threw up a nineteenth-century half-sovereign which the Royal Mint records of the year in question mention but which was not previously known from an actual specimen? The publication of this find is eagerly awaited, not just by collectors of the particular series but by mediaevalists working on certain mint-records that appear to possess little less authority but which seem sometimes fundamentally and irreconcilably to conflict with the evidence of the coins themselves.

Features in Dr. Galster's report which may be singled out for special commendation include the careful description—which even includes a photograph—of the find-spot, though non-Danish readers could have wished for a small-scale map-inset to show where Kongsø Plantage lies in relation to the Jutland peninsula as a whole. One is glad, too, to have a full and frank account of the prompt rewarding of the finder, though the authorities at

Dublin and Belfast have no reason to hang their heads in this particular matter which does seem to touch the very roots of public confidence in what frankly seems still to many people a confiscatory invasion of private rights. Equally one is grateful for the very clear description of the silver ornaments found with the coins, and may even wonder whether in these islands numismatists would not profit from greater acquaintance with such material, though admittedly it is only in a very small percentage of our finds that *hacksilver* is present. Perhaps, too, the reviewer may envy publicly the easy mastery with which Dr. Galster passes from one national series to another—there is no reason to think that he is any less competent in his publication of the German pieces, while his description of the Danish coins is, as we might expect, not just a labour of love but a model for future work. Finally one should without impertinence comment on the high quality of the printing and general lay-out of the paper. The half-tone blocks are of exceptional quality, and worthy of the direct-photographs. All in all, then, it is not only Danish numismatists who rejoice that in retirement Dr. Galster seems likely to be as productive as he was when these matters were his official concern.

R. H. M. D.

The Earliest Anglo-Irish Coinage by WILLIAM O'SULLIVAN. Published by the Stationery Office, Dublin, for the National Museum of Ireland, 1964. Pp. viii and 88. 20 line-blocks and 10 half-tone plates. 7s. 6d.

In 1961 the National Museum of Ireland published a reprint of Dr. O'Sullivan's standard guide to the *Earliest Irish Coinage* originally written in 1949 for the centenary volume of The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. That monograph covered the Hiberno-Norse issues and their perverse indigenous successors, the bracteates. In this companion volume Dr. O'Sullivan continues the story down to 1215 and deals with the earliest phases of the Anglo-Irish coinage.

Some years ago the reviewer was moved to bemoan the fact that the medieval Anglo-Irish coinage resembled nothing more nearly than a half-forgotten lumber room which desperately needed a spring-cleaning. Already it seems that a wind of change is blowing the accumulated dust away with gusto and Dr. O'Sullivan's study is particularly welcome since it deals with what is the most intractable and least understood material of the whole series. Its neglect by numismatists has arisen largely because, unlike the later

medieval Anglo-Irish coinage, it is not integrated with the familiar contemporary English monetary system and there is very little surviving documentary testimony which can effectively supplement the evidence of the coins themselves; there is for instance no wealth of records like the English Pipe Rolls which have proved invaluable in unravelling Short Cross problems.

Dr. O'Sullivan's booklet is divided into three sections: a brief historical introduction; a general typological description of the series under discussion coupled with a succinct examination of their background and the problems they pose; and finally, what takes up the bulk of the work, an exhaustive and painstakingly close analysis of some 1,100 coins, all but five of which are in the cabinets of the National Museum.

Dr. O'Sullivan's interpretation of the coins tends to the cautious traditional. Perhaps in some cases a closer dating of types could have been achieved and possibly more could have been made of the hoard evidence, especially that relating to John's 'triangle' coinage, which was siphoned off of Ireland in such large quantities. Dr. O'Sullivan, however, is properly wary of some evidential material. Nevertheless, whereas he is rightly sceptical of the dating of the start of the 'triangle' coinage before 1205 on the grounds of the solitary and ambiguous Close Roll reference 'de denariis Hiberniae' which almost certainly simply refers to treasure from the Irish Exchequer, there is other and far stronger primary evidence to suggest that by 1210, his accepted date, the coinage had been produced for at least five years.

Dr. O'Sullivan suggests that the estoile and crescent on these coins are probably to be associated with the veneration of St. John the Baptist. They are usually regarded as Plantagenet badges but even in England they were not peculiarly Plantagenet and at this time were used all over Europe to fill spaces on seals. It is surprising in view of their marked occurrence on his 'triangle' coins that John's Great Seal does not bear the devices at all, which would seem to leave open the question of a connection with his patron saint.

While he accepts Mr. Derek Allen's attribution to John de Courci of the very rare 'profile' JOHANNES halfpennies he does so with some reluctance and his reservation is given point by the latest thought on these coins which would have us revert to Sainthill's original suggestion that they are in reality very early official issues of Prince John as Lord of Ireland. Dr. O'Sullivan accepts much more readily the plausible attribution to de Courci of the Ulster Museum's unique St. Patrick piece

unearthed at Ballykinlar Motte in 1958 and some further comment on this irregular coin would have been welcome and timely.

The most important part of Dr. O'Sullivan's study is that concerned with the 'full face' half-pennies and farthings issued by John as Lord of Ireland. Whereas the other portions of the work are largely synthetical here the writer covers previously uncharted territory and, by a detailed die analysis of over 1,000 coins most of which came from Corofin, has been able to set out an attractive classification which will prove to be an important foundation for further studies. It is interesting to note that an obverse die-link goes far to substantiate the claim of Kilkenny to a mint at this time.

Dr. O'Sullivan's admirable monograph will undoubtedly be a standard handbook on the subject for both students and collectors; it is a major contribution to Anglo-Irish numismatics and the National Museum of Ireland is to be thanked for making possible its publication at so reasonable a price.

D. W. D.

Coins, by JOHN PORTEOUS. London (Weidenfeld and Nicolson), 1964. Pp. 128 (32 in colour). £1 : 10 : 0.

THE reviewer will not conceal his scepticism when this project was first mooted. There were already far too many bad books of this genre, some of them parasitical, any merits those of scholars too generous with their advice, others suicidal, their authors quite reputable specialists on a narrow front who had succumbed to the temptation to line their pockets at the price of parading their ignorance of other series. There were exceptions, for example Lars O. Lagerqvist's and Ernst Nathorst-Böös's excellent *Mynt och Medaljer*, but the auguries were not auspicious, and English publishers had shown themselves among the least critical in the whole of Europe.

It was, therefore, with a very considerable degree of trepidation that the reviewer opened his copy of Mr. Porteous's book, and with mounting surprise that he found the text generally as free from irritants as the illustrations pleasing to the eye. The work gives a sensible, often original, and on the whole well-balanced account of the broad lines of development of Western European coinage from the earliest times until the present, and the pictures, chosen with taste and discernment, give a very good idea of the appearance of the coins of

different ages and cultures. It is perhaps not altogether a coincidence that it is the coins of modern times which come out least successfully, though even here there are exceptions. Particularly welcome are what we may call the paranumismatic illustrations, the P. Licinius Stolo monument, the St. Georges de Boscherville capital, a not so familiar Sienese account-book cover, the delightful miniature in a Boethius manuscript which seems to show a hoarder in the act of burying his store, to name but a few, and it is unfortunate that one of these should constitute one of Mr. Porteous's very few errors of interpretation, Mr. Grierson having since demonstrated conclusively (*SNC* LXXIII(1965), p. 232) that the 'pincer-dies' in the Fogg Museum in fact constitute a *boulloir* of normal type.

For an English book of this description this new venture is suprisingly outward looking. More than a genuflection is accorded to the coinage of France, Italy and Germany, and any criticism in this respect must centre on a failure to look westwards and northwards as well as across the English Channel. The Scottish and Irish coinages in a book addressed primarily to the English reader deserves more mention, and could often have illumined. Another minor criticism might concern the selection of some of the illustrations, for example certain of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins where the English National Collection's wealth could have done more justice to an artistic merit lauded in the text but by no means always self-evident from the plates. In general, however, the book succeeds, and Mr. Porteous is entitled to regard it with the same satisfaction as must the publishers; after little more than a year it was reported as 'out of print' by the reviewer's booksellers, and it is to be hoped that it may be reprinted quickly to meet an obvious and justified demand.

The deserved success of a work of this kind reflects the soaring interest in numismatics so characteristic of the last few years. Each month, almost, there seems to be a new numismatic journal in the pages of which figure the advertisements of coin dealers whose names are completely unfamiliar to one who not three years ago was at the then centre of numismatic activity. To some extent this 'boom' is healthy, and local societies must be particularly glad when they have no difficulty in ensuring good audiences for speakers of established reputation. What is sobering, though, is to reflect that the learned numismatic societies, and especially our own, have not received anything like their fair share of the benefits. Mr. Porteous would be the first to admit that his book could never have been written had it not been for the numismatic journals

where appear the fruits of the financially unre-munerative labours of dozens of students, professionals and amateurs alike, who have devoted their leisure-hours to the reconstruction of the essential structure of the coinages of the past. Yet this research is being hampered and obstructed in various ways by financial stringency which ought to be quite unnecessary. Fundamentally it is due to the failure of the learned societies to attract support, for without a mounting tide of new members they are unable to meet rising costs and to challenge authority's apparent apathy to the subject's plight. Particularly this concerns the British Numismatic Society and the English and, though perhaps to a lesser extent, the Scottish and Irish series. Nor should we fall into the error of supposing that new members are wanted only for their subscriptions.

At a time when there is a tenfold multiplication in the number of collectors there is far from being any proportionate increase in the total of serious students. It is no secret that there are *Sylloge* fascicles which are held up only because there are not suitable editors—even if there are some projects blocked on the plea of a *Prioratsrecht* which one had imagined not only totally un-English but a thing of the past—and increasing non-publication of hoards and of single-finds means that the student of tomorrow may well reproach this generation with having sterilized certain areas of research, including some where, paradoxically, techniques now being evolved might have proved in their hands extraordinarily fruitful. Partly, of course, this dearth of qualified students is occasioned by the meteoric rise in the prices of common coins, and Mr. Whitting has spoken more than once of this danger, but equally one wonders whether those in established positions are always as helpful to the would-be student as was the case not all that number of years ago. Few, too, who justly applauded Shirley Fox can have realized that even more pregnant for the future of English numismatics than his monumental work, with his brother, on Edwardian pence was the encouragement he gave to one particular schoolboy, and the reviewer knows only too well how that debt is not only generously acknowledged but has been repaid in the only way that Shirley Fox would have had it discharged.

It is here, then, it could be argued that a charge of sterility might well be brought against Mr. Porteous's book. Such is its easy authority that the danger is that it may fail to fire new recruits to what is an arduous discipline, and a specific criticism must be the omission of a bibliography (and also of an index). On this score one under-

stands that blame really attaches more to the publishers, and they have an obvious and to some extent justified retort that only rigorous uniformity as between the volumes of the series has made possible the extremely moderate price. Even so, it should not have been beyond human ingenuity to have devised some means of directing the interested reader to further reading instead of leaving him with the impression that the subject is without further depth except perhaps for the expert as such. There can be little doubt that more readers of the *British Numismatic Journal* would mean more members of our society, and more members in the long run lead to more students. More members, too, would mean that the society could speak out with more authority, and there seems little doubt that most of the ills of the English numismatic scene today are directly attributable to a power-vacuum. More than one outside observer has remarked on an element of complacent indolence, abdication of responsibility, and toleration of abuse which presages ill for the future. One may instance the whole question of non-official strikings, and contrast the position obtaining at present in these islands with that in Germany where there has been a vigorous controversy with scholars of impeccable reputation not afraid to descend into the arena, and not just those immediately concerned with the series. This, one feels, is the real problem posed by a book such as that reviewed here. The intelligent reader is not sufficiently alerted to the perils, and in his enthusiasm for the objects may begin to collect without proper guidance. Fortunate he is if his first contact is with a reputable dealer, an interested museum official or an experienced collector, but there are advertisements, not only in numismatic publications, which suggest that when the bubble bursts there may be many casualties.

The series to which Mr. Porteous has contributed this volume is entitled *Pleasures and Treasures*, other titles ranging from *Model Soldiers* to *French Porcelain*, though the philatelist and the philumenist apparently are not catered for, and certainly it is a work which itself gives pleasure and will be treasured by a majority of its possessors. The quality of the text is matched by the printing and layout, and especially when the price is borne in mind. One may express the hope, though, that the author will deem it a challenge and proceed to apply himself to a more detailed study of one chosen field, perhaps the Anglo-Gallic where in the silver at least so much remains to be done. It is no credit to the reputation of English scholarship, nor of French for that matter, that a generation

which can date within a year or two the late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century pennies of Edward I, II and III from their English and Irish mints still cannot be confident to which of these kings belong the three-quarter-face Aquitaine sterlings which used to be given to Edward III until Brooke brought back the date to Edward II.

Granted that *Coins* is a work of quite another character, in it Mr. Porteous has exhibited qualities of diligence, accuracy, judgement and lucidity, not to mention enthusiasm, which suggests that he is precisely the type of student which English numismatics so badly needs.

R. H. M. D.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, 1965

PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY

1903-8	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1909	W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
1910-14	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1915-19	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.
1920-1	FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.
1922	J. SANFORD SALTUS—till 22 June
1922	GRANT R. FRANCIS—from 28 June
1923-5	GRANT R. FRANCIS
1926-7	MAJOR W. J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A.
1928	MAJOR P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.—till 20 February
1928	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.—from 22 February
1929-32	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.
1933-37	V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.
1938-45	H. W. TAFFS, M.B.E.
1946-50	CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT, O.B.E., F.S.A.
1951-4	EDGAR J. WINSTANLEY
1955-8	HORACE H. KING, M.A.
1959-63	DEREK F. ALLEN, B.A., F.S.A.
1964-5	C. WILSON PECK, F.S.A., F.P.S.

THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS MEDAL

This medal is awarded by ballot of all the members triennially 'to the member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the members as being in their opinion the best in the interest of numismatic science.'

The medal was founded by the late John Sanford Saltus, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, a Vice-President of the Society, by the gift of £200 in the year 1910.

Medallists

1910	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1911	MISS HELEN FARQUHAR
1914	W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
1917	L. A. LAWRENCE, F.S.A.
1920	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.
1923	H. ALEXANDER PARSONS
1926	GRANT R. FRANCIS, F.S.A.
1929	J. S. SHIRLEY-FOX, R.B.A.

1932	CHARLES WINTER
1935	RAYMOND CARLYON-BRITTON
1938	WILLIAM C. WELLS
1941	CUTHBERT A. WHITTON
1944	Not Awarded
1947	R. CYRIL LOCKETT, J.P., F.S.A.
1950	CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT, O.B.E., F.S.A.
1953	DEREK F. ALLEN, B.A., F.S.A.
1956	F. ELMORE JONES
1959	R. H. M. DOLLEY, B.A., F.S.A.
1962	HORACE H. KING, M.A.
1965	H. SCHNEIDER

(For Officers and Council for 1965 see Vol. XXXIII, page 185)

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 26 January, Mr. C. Wilson Peck, President, in the chair, Dr. R. C. Bell, Mr. B. Cook, and Mr. Arthur M. Fitts III were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. Ian Stewart read a paper on Treasure Trove.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 23 February, Mr. C. Wilson Peck, President in the chair, Mr. Nicholas Peter Brooks, Mr. Roy Nevill Playfair Hawkins, Dr. Malcolm Heslip, Mr. Bernard Spring, Mr. H. Van Colle, and the Fisher Library, University of New South Wales, were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. Mark Freehill read a paper on the Coinage of Australia.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 23 March, Mr. C. Wilson Peck, President, in the chair, the President announced the death of the Queen of Sweden, a Royal Member of the Society. Mr. Derek Sydney Chick, Mr. James Dick, Mr. Trevor Owens, and Mr. William Thomas Pye were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. Hawkins and Mr. Van Colle were formally admitted to Ordinary Membership. Mrs. Veronica Smart read a paper entitled 'A Subsidiary Variety of Aethelraed II's *Long Cross* Type.'

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 27 April, Mr. C. Wilson Peck, President, in the chair, Mr. Cecil L. Wilcox was elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. Pye was formally admitted to Ordinary Membership. Mr. Michael Dolley read a paper entitled 'Coinage in Ireland, 1085-1216.'

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 25 May, Mr. C. Wilson Peck, President, in the chair, the Kent Numismatic Society was elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. Chick was formally admitted to Ordinary Membership. Dr. J. P. C. Kent read a paper on the Hartford (Huntingdon) Hoard.

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday 22 June, Mr. C. Wilson Peck, President, in the chair, Mr. Pagan read a paper entitled 'Some Burgred Problems.'

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, 28 September, Mr. Blunt, Vice-President, in the chair, Mr. A. Byde, Mr. R. Faull, Mr. Henry Grunthal, Mr. J. Krasnodedski, Mr. S. Mygind, Mr. Richard M. Murrie, and Mr. K. L. M. O'Hanlon were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. William Hall was elected to Junior Membership. Mr. D. W. Dykes read a paper entitled 'Some Thoughts on Trade Tokens.'

At an Ordinary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on Tuesday, October 26, Mr. C. Wilson Peck, President, in the chair, Dr. Brian Bird, Mr. Alexander R. Hamilton, Mrs. Joan Murray, Mr. Gordon Rowe, Mr. Robert James Seaman, and Mr. Eric S. Smith were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. T. F. Burrows was elected to Junior Membership. Miss Bellamy read a paper on the Anthony Ascham Medal. Mr. Lyon read a paper on a Round Halfpenny of Edward the Confessor, and Mr. Rigold gave a short description of a hoard of sceattas from Mrs. Sonia Hawkes' excavation of the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Finglesham, near Sandwich.

At the Anniversary Meeting held at the Warburg Institute on St. Andrew's Day, 30 November, Mr. C. Wilson Peck, President, in the chair, Mr. Jack Fordham, Mr. Roger Kofstad, and Mr. R. J. Van de Brake were elected to Ordinary Membership. The following Officers were elected for 1966:

President: C. S. S. Lyon, B.A., F.I.A.

Vice-Presidents: D. F. Allen, B.A., F.B.A., F.S.A.; A. E. Bagnall; C. E. Blunt, O.B.E., F.B.A., F.S.A.; G. V. Doubleday; H. H. King, M.A.; E. J. Winstanley, L.D.S.

Director: B. H. I. H. Stewart, M.A., F.S.A. (Scot.).

Secretary: W. Slayter.

Treasurer: Miss M. M. Archibald, M.A.

Librarian: R. H. Thompson.

Council: C. H. Allen; Miss M. P. Bellamy, B.A.; J. D. Brand; D. W. Dykes, M.A.; E. J. Harris, D.Sc.; J. Lavertine, M.D.; Major C. W. Lister, R.A.; Commander R. P. Mack, M.V.O., R.N.; C. W. Peck, F.S.A., F.P.S.; Miss E. J. E. Pirie, M.A., F.S.A. (Scot.); J. Porteous, M.A.; S. E. Rigold, M.A., F.S.A.; H. Schneider; J. Weibel.

Corresponding Member for Ireland: R. H. M. Dolley, B.A., M.R.I.A., F.S.A.

Corresponding Member for the United States of America: H. Grunthal.

The President, Mr. C. Wilson Peck, delivered the Presidential Address.

EXHIBITIONS

March

By Mr. Elmore Jones:

- 5 coins of Æthelred II *Long Cross* Type of the Subsidiary Variety, the subject of the paper.
1. London—Godwine.
 2. London—Osulf.
 3. Bedford—Aelfwig.
 4. Cambridge—Edwine.
 5. Huntingdon—Alfric.

June

By Mr. C. S. S. Lyon:

1. Burgred penny, moneyer Eanred. Type A. Early, crude, but official.
2. Burgred penny, moneyer Wine. Type C. Early.
- 3 and 4. Coins of Aethelred I and Burgred with the dies cut by the same hand.

September

By Mr. D. W. Dykes:

A. Nine Seventeenth century Welsh tokens, not included in Williamson.

B. Eight miscellaneous tokens.

In illustration of his paper.

October

By Mr. S. E. Rigold:

Hoard of eight sceattas from Mrs. Sonia Hawkes' excavation of the Anglo-Saxon (late seventh and eighth centuries) cemetery at Finglesham, near Sandwich, Kent, found with fittings and leather fragments of a purse under left arm of skeleton (cf. Breach Down). A typical grave-hoard of eight (cf. Broadstairs, Southend (?) and Driffeld). Typical also is its mixture of types (Rigold) A (= B.M.C. 2a) and B (= B.M.C. 26 and 27)—both doubtless Kentish.

Find Nos.

13. A2, obv. die 8.
16. A3, obv. die 11 or near.
15. B1, A10 obv. die, with new reverse.
14. B1, A—(obv. new die, late in the series, cf. A9 or 10).
17. B1 B8 (rev 1).
18. B1 B5 (new rev., more proper to B1 A)
11. B1 C1 (new rev. ?).
12. B1 C4 (new rev.).

Selection of dies very similar to those of Broadstairs.

Probably first decade of eighth century.

October

By Mr. C. S. S. Lyon:

1. Edward the Confessor *Sovereign/Eagles* type.
'Halfpenny' of Chester, moneyer Brunnice, wt. 7 grains. (Yorkshire Museum).
2. Penny of Chichester of the same type, for comparison. (A. H. Baldwin & Sons).
See Pl. XXVI No. 4 of *B.M.C.* ii for a penny with identical readings to 1 above, and from dies which must have been cut at much the same time as the first coin.

ADDRESS BY C. WILSON PECK

PRESIDENT OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, 30 November, 1965

As a society I think we can be justly proud of our many years of well-attended meetings and of our succession of *Journals* replete with first-class contributions. Ideally the maintenance of reasonably high standards in the face of ever-increasing costs *should* be met by increases in membership. Actually, a slight excess of income over expenditure and the high standard of our *Journal* have only been maintained in recent years by the implementation of various economies and by twice raising the annual subscription. But ways and means of economising are rapidly drying up and an increase in the subscription can sometimes prove to be a double-edged weapon. It would appear, therefore, that a realistic estimate of the Society's welfare must now be based almost entirely on the state of our membership. Any sense of jubilation or even quiet satisfaction over our academic achievements during a given year would, to my mind, be basically unsound if, at the end of that year, our membership had failed to increase.

These rather sobering introductory remarks may have led you to suspect bad news. On the contrary there have been elected this year 30 new ordinary members, 2 juniors and one institutional member. However, against this total of 33 we have to set 16 resignations and 3 amovals, which leaves us with a net increase of 14. Present membership now stands at 252 ordinary members, 21 juniors, and 100 institutional members, making a grand total of 373. The combined loss of as many as 19 by resignation and amoval, following, as it does, a corresponding figure of 12 last year, is rather disturbing. Some of those who have resigned may have done so for reasons in no way connected with any failure or deficiency on our part. But what of the remainder? Is it not possible, or even probable, that some of these have resigned, after a period of disillusionment, on finding that our papers and discussions rarely, if ever, extend to those fields of study in which their main interests lie? I am thinking, of course, of the Society's inadequate coverage of the English Milled Coins. In my address last year I made a somewhat lengthy and outspoken appeal for more work by the Society on this large and important series. So far my appeal seems to have had no effect. I most earnestly hope that my successor will continue to impress upon our members the need for this very desirable widening of our activities.

Continuing on the subject of funds: our main expenditure is, of course, on the *Journal*, the quality of which has been maintained and even improved during the last few years in spite of rising costs. But this has only been achieved by the ingenuity of our editors who have contrived subtle but nonetheless effective economies in various ways. I would remind you that for several years the British Academy has contributed regularly the sum of £100 towards the cost of the *Journal* and I take this opportunity again to express our gratitude for a similar grant this year. For many years we have had to contend not only with the continually increasing cost of printing the *Journal* but also with undue delay in the completion of each yearly volume. In an effort to remedy this Council has entrusted the printing of the *Journal* to the Dublin University Press who hope to be able to deliver the book in the

late autumn of each year, and—at a slightly reduced cost. The fact that the volume for 1964 has not yet reached us is due to a disastrous fire which occurred early in the year at the press in Dublin, in which nine of our contributors' copies were destroyed. I, and I feel sure all members of the Council, regret this break with the Oxford University Press whose standard of printing has, of course, always been superb. Time will be needed to judge the effectiveness of our new venture. So far as the delivery date is concerned it is obvious from what I have just told you that no fair conclusion can be reached this year, but I must emphasize that if delivery of the *Journal* is to be expedited in future, no efforts by the press in Dublin or by our editors will be of any avail unless contributors send in their copies as early as possible.

Of events this year Mr. Blunt's election as a Fellow of the British Academy is the one which gives me the greatest pleasure to mention. On your behalf I offer Mr. Blunt our very heartiest congratulations. I am sure you would also wish me to congratulate Mr. G. K. Jenkins on his appointment as Keeper of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, to wish him well in this responsible post and hope that he will display the same benign interest in the English series of coins as did his predecessor, Dr. Walker.

The Buxton Prize for 1965 has been awarded to Mr. H. Pagan for his excellent paper entitled 'Some Burgred Problems'.

From all accounts the Congress at Leeds in June proved interesting and enjoyable. Although I was unable to be present our Council was well represented, but it was disappointing that our major English coin cabinets were unable to send any of their members—disappointing because experience has taught that co-operation at all levels between professional and amateur numismatists is essential for the well-being of our studies. Quite outstanding was Mr. Sawyer's announcement that the University of Leeds had decided to set up a master card-index in which it was hoped to record every extant Anglo-Saxon and Norman coin. The magnitude of this task can be imagined but it is well understood by those undertaking it. The leading Anglo-Saxon specialists have been consulted and the resources of modern science and technology are being harnessed to the project. In the past the bottleneck has always been the lack of a simple method of obtaining adequate illustrations of critical coins dispersed in minor collections. It is in the Universities that there exist the technical knowledge and physical resources for achieving this and I hope, in due course, my successor will be able to announce a break-through. In the past the actual possession of a broad spectrum of the available material has been, too often, the prerequisite of successful study. Naturally, numismatics cannot be studied away from coins, but it is not too much to say that, if present expectations are realized, more important than the ownership of rarities will be the knowledge for their interpretation. I might add here that the paper read to the Society last year by Mr. Sawyer has now appeared in the 'Transactions of the Royal Historical Society'. Some members may feel a little disappointed that this paper has not been printed in our own *Journal*. However, it is important that a proportion of numismatic research should appear occasionally in historical and archaeological journals so that the specialist in other fields may gain some idea, not only of our methods, but also of what we hope to achieve.

Among the relatively few books on British numismatics published this year is Miss Pirie's contribution to the Sylloge—*The Willoughby Gardner Collection of coins with the Chester mint mark in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester*. It is a great pity that a work of such a very high standard should be somewhat impaired by the poor quality of the plates. These appear to have been produced by direct photography of the coins, a method which, personally,

I find most unsatisfactory. Earlier attempts to photograph simultaneously a number of coins laid out as a plate were beset with difficulties right from the start. The various tones of the coins and their differing brightness and condition of preservation almost invariably resulted in a plate on which at least one—usually several—of the reproductions were almost if not entirely, unrecognizable. A further disadvantage of this method is that the obverses and reverses become separated. To obviate these snags individual prints of both sides of the coins are sometimes made, cut out, arranged in the required sequence and then rephotographed. Apart from the slight loss in definition that could occur during the second taking the differences in the tone of the pieces are still painfully apparent. A glance at the plates in Miss Robertson's *Hunterian Sylloge* should dispel any doubts as to the superiority of the cast process. As Miss Robertson explains, she used casts for 40 of her 42 plates. There were, however, a few coins too fragile for casting and these had therefore to be photographed direct. The inferiority of these direct photographs when compared with those taken from the casts was so obvious to Miss Robertson that she decided to segregate the direct photographs on two special plates at the end of the volume. It would be improper for me to disclose at this juncture the nature of the experiments on the photography of coins now being carried out at the University of Leeds. All I can say is that they are full of promise.

After this digression I return to the books to welcome the second of Mr. Dolley's British Museum Handbooks—*Viking Coins of the Danelaw and of Dublin*. It is to be hoped that the British Museum will continue to draw on Mr. Dolley's vast knowledge of mediaeval coins for the production of further monographs in this useful and inexpensive series. It has, in fact, occurred to me that a third instalment comprising a review of the Norman coinage by Mr. Dolley would be a very suitable way of marking next year's anniversary of the Battle of Hastings. Regarding Mr. Dolley's *Sylloge of the Hiberno-Norse Coins* in the British Museum it is disappointing to learn that this is not expected until next year despite the fact that the page proofs had been corrected and the index completed this summer. Part 2 of Dr. Galster's *Sylloge of the coins at Copenhagen* is now in page proof and should therefore also be out early in the new year. This volume will be taken up entirely with their outstanding series of Aethelred II. Two further volumes of the *Sylloge* are also expected next year; firstly, that on the Anglo-Saxon Collection at Edinburgh, which, with 29 plates, will provide one of the best available photographic records of mid 10th century material, and secondly the fascicle dealing with the Anglo-Saxon pennies in the Ashmolean Museum. Always a fine collection, this has been greatly strengthened in recent years by acquisitions from the Lockett sales.

Interest in the British coinage is undoubtedly gaining ground in the U.S.A. and the quite considerable and very welcome increase in the number of Americans admitted to membership during recent years no doubt reflects this trend. With this in mind Council thought this an opportune time to appoint an American member of considerable standing as our Corresponding Member for the United States of America. It is with much pleasure that I am now able to announce that the member appointed is Mr. H. Grunthal, Assistant to the Chief Curator of the American Numismatic Society. At this point I think it important that I should mention a matter of grave concern to all numismatists. During the last few years there has come into being in America a new type of dealer whose main activity seems to be to persuade people to buy coins and medals purely as a way of investment. I hasten to add that all American numismatists who have a genuine interest in the well-being of numismatics are just as disturbed about this new development as we are. Unfortunately the same idea has spread to this country. Small pseudo-dealers are cropping up everywhere. Posing as

experts on coins, their methods of advertising are, for the most part, in the worst possible taste. But this is not all. Such is the demand for English coins by these dealers in America that quite weighty consignments of our coins, handpicked from circulation, have found their way to the United States through agents in this country. One instance of this of which I have first hand knowledge may be of interest. About two years ago a young woman in the North was persuaded by an American dealer to advertise for pennies bearing the scarcer dates from 1860 onwards. She was to buy these in at an average price of about 50 per cent above their face value. For the rarer dates, such as 1869, she was free to pay considerably more, and as a special inducement, doubtless designed to rouse the enthusiasm of the local population to fever heat, a quite considerable sum was offered for specimens of the 1933 penny. For a while business was brisk, but I need hardly add, no 1933 pennies appeared. The dealer bought the coins from the young woman and shipped them to America. There are, of course, very few coins of the Victorian period in circulation in sufficiently fine condition to appeal to any worthwhile collector, and consequently the dealer soon became so overburdened with unsaleable coppers that he gave up the idea. The Royal Mint is clearly aware of these happenings and in his Annual Report for 1964 the Deputy Master has expressed his concern and disapproval in a delightfully outspoken and pungent manner. As a Society there is little we can do about this except to guard our membership rigorously against such dealers. To this end, during the present year, Council has devised a means of more thoroughly investigating the application of anyone seeking membership who is suspected of such activities. I feel confident that all members will applaud this decision to keep our Society, by all reasonable means, free from such undesirable elements.

I now turn to subjects of more general interest. During recent years there has been a welcome tendency to better understanding and collaboration between numismatists, historians and archaeologists with the common aim of correlating their findings in their search for the truth. Such collaboration will probably always be most fruitful when it is applied to those periods of history for which the documentary or archaeological evidence is either scanty or so uncertain that it is liable to be misinterpreted. While it is less likely that coins *alone* will ever throw much new light on the history of later times, I sometimes wonder whether the historian has made the fullest use of the available coin *history* of these later periods. I venture to suggest that the social historian in particular could draw much from the historical background to the English coinage that would add colour and possibly a new slant to his studies. I have in mind, as an example of this, the daily trials and tribulations that dogged the lives of most ordinary folk for several centuries all for the want of a sufficiency of coin of low denomination with which to purchase the less expensive but nonetheless necessary or enjoyable commodities of life. In earlier times the expedient of cutting the silver penny into halves and even quarters to provide small change was at least *possible* because this coin was relatively large and thin, and had the introduction of round halfpennies and farthings by Edward I been followed up with subsequent regular issues of adequate quantities of these fractional pieces up to the time of Elizabeth I, things might have been very different. By this time, as you all know, the price of silver had risen considerably and in consequence the size of these two fractional coins had diminished to a point beyond which they ceased to be a practical proposition. Then followed what, in broad terms, might be called the second phase of this problem, in which for at least a further century, the urgent need for a base metal coinage was recognized, but because of biased and muddled thinking was not realized. I am convinced that it was during this period that the shortage of small change was felt most acutely. One has only

to recall the desperate remedy of the privately issued tokens, many of which were only acceptable locally, and the swindles perpetrated during the somewhat restricted circulation of the Royal and Rose farthing tokens, to realize how difficult, embarrassing and frustrating it must have been to carry out even the simplest transaction. Today, with our plentiful supply of 'coppers' and nickel-brass threepences, such incidents may seem trivial. Nevertheless, the purchasing of the small necessities of life was one of their daily chores and it is my contention that the full consequences of the hardship which the poorer classes endured, because of the inadequate supply of small change in former days, has not been brought home sufficiently to the general reader of social history.

I would next like to make a few observations centring on the more prosaic subject of rarity as it applies to numismatics. Although the degree of rarity, and hence to *some* extent the value, of a coin must always be of interest, it is probably true to say, that it is less so to the professional numismatist than to the ordinary collector or dealer. It is part of a dealer's business to judge rarity and consequently the price at which he buys and sells. The ordinary collector, as distinct from the student, soon forms some idea of the rarity of his pieces from books and, of course, from the price he has to pay for them. For some collectors rarities can become rather an obsession with little or no regard for the significance of the pieces acquired. There is always the disturbing possibility, therefore, that important rarities could pass, unknown to the students, into the possession of a comparatively unknown collector who is totally unaware of the real significance of his much-prized pieces. The professional museum man has, on the whole, probably the least knowledge of rarity in terms of commercial value: in fact, it is usually only when some important addition to a museum collection is sought, say through auction, that he is forced to speculate on the more mundane matter of its probable cost to his department. The degree of rarity of a coin as expressed in a numismatic work or auction sale catalogue is an attempt to rate the availability of that coin at a particular time, and, by availability I mean, of course, coins accessible to purchase, not specimens in museums or those still buried in the earth.

Very occasionally museum duplicates are sold and, more often, hoards are unearthed. In consequence more specimens of certain coins become available and their rarity rating decreases—or should decrease accordingly. When several examples of a particular coin are known it is unlikely that the appearance of further specimens will add anything to our knowledge. Likewise a hitherto *unknown* piece may come to light which immediately fits snugly into a well studied series without disturbing it in any way. On the other hand an unrecorded type or die linkage occasionally turns up, the effect of which is dramatic in its impact by providing a much-needed link in some, as yet, unsolved problem. In using the expression 'turns up' I do not necessarily mean 'dug up'. As I hinted earlier, an important key coin may lie virtually lost for many years in some obscure collection whose owner is totally unaware of the incalculable value this coin would be to some student engaged in a particular field of research. Many of you know how exciting but equally exasperating it can be to chance eventually on one of these 'missing' coins, for the want of which months, possibly years, of hard work have proved abortive. So while we accept quite calmly the likely prospect that the earth will, in time, give back to us many treasures, we probably feel much less placid at the thought that the solution to many of our problems may still lie hidden *above* ground, but in the wrong place. Until the Alfred penny B.M.C. type V-moneyer *Lulla* was found at Winchester last year, the specimen in the British Museum was the only one known. One wonders how many of the coins at present believed to be unique are, in fact, the only available

or potentially available specimens. As there are undoubtedly vast quantities of coins still buried in the ground, is it too far-fetched or imaginative to predict, as archaeological digging progresses further and further afield, that many years—possibly centuries—hence, duplicates of many of our supposedly unique coins will be recovered? Another aspect of our rating of rarity is its limited use to the student. Our knowledge of the quantity of individual coin types minted in ancient and mediaeval times is very slight indeed, and as the rating given to a particular coin in a modern text-book is really little more than a vague indication of the number that have survived and bears no relation whatever to the number originally minted the student places little reliance on it for study purposes. Let us suppose that 500 specimens of a certain denarius were minted in Rome and that in transit to the army in Britain 300 of them were lost at sea while being transported across the English Channel. Now suppose that four of the crew who were saved had managed to salvage the remaining 200 coins which they divided equally between them; that three of these batches of looted coins were hastily buried but never recovered, but that the fourth batch of 50 coins eventually passed into circulation. Now let us leap forward nearly 2,000 years to find these 50 pieces dispersed in various museums and private collections in Europe and America. Lastly let us imagine that during one of the World Wars five of these coins in London collections are known to have been destroyed by fire. We are thus left with 45 coins out of an original issue of 500. If, say, 10 of these are in museums there remains 35 available specimens. Today this particular denarius would probably be rated very rare, yet when, say two of the three batches of 50 buried coins are eventually unearthed, this coin will be very nearly four times more plentiful than it is today. One could ring the changes on this not so very fanciful piece of imagery many times always to be faced with the depressing probability that hundreds of thousands of coins have been irretrievably lost or destroyed through the ages and so, like the archaeologists, we numismatists have, for the most part, only *remains* to study. Unlike the archaeologists, however, whose ruined cities and buried treasures have often deteriorated beyond all true recognition, each unit of our material is complete in itself and, on the whole, considerably more durable.

It has occurred to me that numismatic study is somewhat analogous to the solving of a difficult jig-saw puzzle several pieces of which are missing. A hasty unmethodical approach could easily end in several of the available pieces being wrongly placed and the result would be a partial and inaccurate reconstruction from which we could glean nothing as to the shape of the missing pieces. Less hurried and more systematic work should enable all the available pieces to be correctly placed so that the actual shape of the missing pieces would be clearly revealed.

The rating of coins as unique is probably less frequent than it was years ago. The meaning of the word unique is unequivocal yet it is often misused. One hears of a unique experience when what is really meant is just an unusual experience. So far as numismatics is concerned the word should only be used to describe a coin which is known for certain to be the only one of its kind in existence. There must be no fooling with this word such as, for example, the use of a seductive phrase which I once noticed in an auction sale catalogue... 'Almost unique, only two known'. My personal preference for the rating of a coin of which only one specimen appears to exist is either 'probably unique' or, better still 'only known specimen'. The use of either of these phrases obviates the risk of making what could become a downright misstatement should further specimens eventually come to light.

Although it is hard to imagine any die-cutter taking the trouble to make a pair of dies with the sole object of striking a single piece, this contingency cannot be entirely ruled out because single striking from some pattern dies may have occurred, but in this connection it is well to remember that although a single specimen of Simon's Petition Crown would surely have sufficed, no less than 15 specimens are known to exist. Truly unique pieces are most likely to be found among trial striking and other freak emissions from a mint. In the case of normal currency, if, for simplicity, we assume a constant rate of loss over the years, then the coins surviving from the small issues should obviously be scarcer today than those originally produced in larger quantities. As examples of this, we know from the records, for reasons which I need not detail, that halfpennies of Charles II, dated 1672, were struck only during the last three months of that year. Likewise the halfpennies and farthings of William III, dated 1698, were also struck during a period of only three months. The scantiness of these issues is reflected in the relative rarity of these three coins today.

It is a curious fact that two coins of equal rarity and of equal value to numismatic study do not necessarily have the same commercial value. I have often pondered over this paradox and have come to the conclusion that we have here an element of snobbery at work. A key gold coin is almost always priced very much higher than an equally important copper piece. Why? Unpractical and unrealistic as it may seem to many of you I have come round to thinking that the real value of a coin should be assessed in direct relation to its value to numismatics. In the English copper series there exist several proofs and patterns in gold, yet so far as I can remember none of them sheds any new light on the study of this series. Nevertheless they invariably command ridiculously high prices merely because they are gold. As an instance of this, a gold proof of the 1860 bronze penny recently realized over £1,000 at auction, yet it was struck from precisely the same dies as one of the ordinary current pieces of that year. This gold proof is probably unique yet, apart from providing evidence of its own existence, it tells us nothing new. Having used the word snobbery I am reminded to unburden myself of a complaint which I have wanted to make for a long time. Numismatics is the study of coins—all coins, regardless of their period of issue or of the metal of which they are made. Yet—let us face it—a curious form of snobbery does exist among the devotees of some series who tend to look with some disdain on the efforts of those working in seemingly less spectacular fields. This should not be. No coins of any series should be disregarded merely because they appear to be inferior, unimportant or, perhaps, too modern. Every series has something to offer, and, more often than not, they prove more interesting and possibly much more difficult than was expected. To draw from my own experience, the Royal and Rose farthing tokens are almost certainly the most wretched pieces ever to circulate in England. Few collectors have condescended to notice them yet, historically they are extremely important because, although ill-conceived, they represent the first tentative effort to introduce a coinage of small change in copper in this country. For this reason alone they had to be studied however reluctant I might be to undertake this. They proved difficult and at times exasperating yet I soon developed considerable respect and even affection for them.

I had intended to discuss in some detail our present methods of indicating the various degrees of rarity but I now realize this would take too long. It must suffice that I draw your attention to just a few of the problems involved. Having decided, probably without a great deal of thought, on a rarity scale it is not unusual for a writer to rate the commonest coins in his series as 'common' and then to work upwards to the highest degrees of rarity. To do even this at all satisfactorily is not always as easy or straightforward as one would think.

To make this clearer it will be easiest if I again quote from my experience of the English copper series. Until fairly recently the lowest rating 'common' was applied to many of the 19th century coins, but when it came to cataloguing, in addition, all the 20th century issues, further degrees of 'commonness' were needed. Now in this connection there is obviously a limit to what can be done with words and there seemed no option but to use the expressions—'very common', 'extremely common' and 'excessively common'. But even this extension of the scale proved insufficient and it became necessary to re-estimate and step up the rating of many of the 18th and 19th century coins in order to maintain some semblance of a correct ratio. These few remarks are by way of indicating the kind of problem to be expected *within* a given series.

But far more serious is the deplorable lack of uniformity or correspondence that exists between the scales used by students working in widely separated periods or fields of study. Hence we find in Sydenham's *Roman Republican Coinage* a denarius dating to about 120 B.C. sharing the same rarity rating—'extremely common'—with a George V penny of 1928. Clearly this is all wrong. Although, hitherto, I have always considered words to be more expressive and intelligible for indicating rarity they would obviously prove quite inadequate for expressing, *in a single scale*, the true relative rarity between coins of ancient, mediæval and modern times. Some fairly lengthy numerical scale seems to me to be the only alternative. In conclusion, I suggest that this problem deserves further thought with the ultimate object of creating a uniform system. While a universal scale might be difficult to achieve I see no real obstacle to an agreed scale to operate among the English-speaking countries.

As you will have seen from your ballot papers I am not seeking re-election as President. I have several purely personal reasons for making this decision, which I do not intend to inflict upon you, but I would like you to know how very much I have appreciated the honour of serving you in this capacity. For me the office of President has not been the complete sinecure that it is generally believed to be, but I realise that it would have been much more difficult without the unstinted help and support that I have received from the Officers and Council to whom I am most grateful. If, as a result of the ballot shortly to be announced, Mr. Lyon is elected as my successor I need only say that, although he is a comparatively young man, he has already proved his worth and ability, not only as a numismatist, but also as your one time Secretary, Treasurer and Director. With all this experience of our affairs he could prove equally capable as your President. But I must not anticipate further. In my experience, it is to the Secretary that the President turns most frequently for facts and figures and for guidance on many matters. May I therefore couple my farewell to you with an expression of my sincere thanks to Mr. Slayter for his invaluable help during the last two years.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Balance Sheet as at 31 October 1964

21.10.63		£ s. d.		£ s. d.		31.10.63		£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
£				£		£					
13	Subscriptions received in advance			20	13	11		Investments at cost			
13	Subscriptions compounded			11	2	0		£900 0s. 0d. 4½% Defence Bonds	900	0	0
	Sundry Creditors and Outstanding						1,355	£500 0s. 0d. 2½% Savings Bonds	426	13	3
77	Charges			68	16	6					
	J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund							J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund			
139	Capital Account			200	0	0	172	£200 0s. 0d. 4½% Defence Bonds			200 0 0
2,362	Publications Fund			2,498	14	5	152	Library at cost			151 12 5
	General Purposes Fund						20	Furniture at cost			10 7 6
	Balance as at 31st October, 1963	151	14	1				Cash at Bankers and in Hand			
	Add Excess of Income over						290	Bank Current Account	228	9	9
152	Expenditure for the year	288	7	11			400	Bank Deposit Account	935	12	8
					440	2	377	Post Office Savings Bank	386	13	3
											1,550 15 8
£2,756				£3,239	8	10	£2,756				£3,239 8 10

Expenditure and Income Account for the Year ended 31 October 1964

EXPENDITURE				INCOME			
1962/63		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	1962/63		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
£				£			
17	Printing and Stationery		85 0 5	826	Subscriptions received for 1964	1,130 14 11	
	Expenses of Meetings, Rent and				Subscriptions in arrear received		
21	Library facilities		21 0 0	61	during year	180 2 3	
26	Sundry Expenses		45 3 7				1,310 17 2
	Journal Expenses including provision			26	Entrance Fees		20 2 8
	of £1,200 for 1964 Journal	1,429 1 5			Donations:		
	Less Grant from British Academy	100 0 0			A. E. Bagnall	3 3 0	
1,003			1,329 1 5		Anonymous	30 0 0	
10	Buxton Prize		10 0 0	139			33 3 0
	Transferred to Sanford Saltus			49	Interest received		74 2 9
	Medal Fund			54	Sale of back Volumes and Duplicates		383 10 1
	Capital	28 5 0			Premium on Redemption of 3½%		
	Income	24 17 4		25	Defence Bonds		—
			53 2 4	10	Buxton Prize Money		10 0 0
	Excess of Income over Expenditure						
114	carried to General Purposes Fund		288 7 11				
£1,190			£1,831 15 8	£1,190			£1,831 15 8

Report of the Auditors to the Members of the British Numismatic Society

WE have obtained all the information and explanations which to the best of our knowledge and belief were necessary for the purposes of our audit. In our opinion proper books of account have been kept by the Society so far as appears from our examination of these books. We have examined the above Balance Sheet and annexed Expenditure and Income Account which are in agreement with the books of account and no credit has been taken for subscriptions in arrear. In our opinion and to the best of our information and according to the explanations given to us, the Balance Sheet gives a true and fair view of the state of the Society's affairs as at 31st October, 1964, and the Expenditure and Income Account gives a true and fair view of the excess of income over expenditure for the year ended on that date.

108A, Cannon Street,
London, E.C.4.
30 November, 1964.

GILBERTS, HALLETT & EGLINGTON
Chartered Accountants

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